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ABSTRACT

This report documents the problems of Black and Latino males in New York City by assembling a broad range of data regarding the connections between the City's Black and Latino men and its social and economic institutions. The report draws primarily on data from federal surveys and administrative data from New York City and New York State agencies. Data were also collected from 5 focus groups convened of 8 to 12 young males between the ages of 12 and 19 years from various backgrounds. The report is divided into the following five sections: (1) employment; (2) education; (3) health/social welfare; (4) criminal justice; and (5) family. Each section provides a brief historical overview of how policymakers have dealt with Black and Latino males in order to help clarify the context and evolution of the current problem. Following the historical review, current data are presented and interpreted. Also included are highlights of the focus groups. Findings concern the following topics: (1) most problems are directly attributable to historical and current underrepresentation in good jobs; (2) lack of equal education; (3) health and welfare problems as a result of high rates of unemployment; (4) high rates of arrest and incarceration; and (5) lack of current research on Black and Latino families or men. Contains 14 figures, 1 table, 1 appendix with 9 tables, and 32 references. (JB)

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Cause for Alarm:

The Condition of Black and Latino Males in New York City

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Facing Grim Data on Young Males, Blacks Grope for Ways to End Blight

BY ISABEL WILKERSON

Educator rips plans for all-male, all-black schools

OB POLNER

Black Males and the Drug Trade: Entrepreneurs or New Illusio

Life Expectancy Of U.S. Blacks Declined in 1988

Center Conferees Report That Urban Drug Dea

"We need some radical measures to rescue our young Black males"

Blacks Rejected For Home Loans

In some minority communities, racism, poverty and crime exacerbate the period of tumult by adding survival pressures and a sense of hopelessness to the demanding physical and emotional periods teenagers experience.

Low expectations of black and Hispanic pupils is cited as a reas

Panel Head Backs Rap On 'Racism' in Courts

Blacks in College: Numbers and Ra

Next Life, I'll Be White

Un abrazo boricua en medio de la dificultad

Las carceles

La cárce ...sufierr

Latino kids poorest

The Color of His

El deterioro boricua en NY

Full Of Hate

2

Study: Hispanics underrepresented in educational system

Despite the rapid growth and ... the Hispanic ... high school completion rates for Hispanics ages 18 to 24 dropped ... Puerto Ricans (46 percent) and Cubans (37 percent). ... 1970s and early 1980s, African-Americans have experienced lit...

...le don't ...ve problems ...eping them ...ademically, ...t the prob... ...m we have is ...lugging them ...socially. ...aking them ...eel a part of ...be universi...

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Cause for Alarm:

The Condition of Black and Latino Males in New York City

Errata Sheet

Page 15, Figure 8 Male Post Secondary Enrollment By Race and Ethnicity
Column should be labelled percent

Page 27, Figure 12 Change in Male Inmate Population
Date should read 1960-1990 and percent change for White males is 16%

Page 36, ¶ 2, Line 5 Should read nearly 15,000 not 15 percent.

Page 39, Table 1 Causes of Death for Males Under Age 1: 1989
Source should read NYC Department of Health

Page 41, Table 3 Causes of Death for Males Age 15-24: 1989
Pneumonia and Influenza deaths for Latino males the number is 1 and the percent is 0.3%
Total deaths for Latino males is 357 and the percent 94.7%

Cause for Alarm:

The Condition of Black and Latino Males in New York City

This report is dedicated to Black and Latino males in New York City
and to Dr. James Moss whose life was dedicated to improving their conditions.
Dr. Moss was involved early in this project. He died in 1990.

Authored by
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September 1991

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We express sincere gratitude to Elinor Bowles, who edited and made critical comments at several points during the development of the report. Laurie Mazur and Sheila Collins also provided invaluable editing services. Marna Friedman, who designed the layout and repeatedly formatted this report, was an asset to this project.

Many people reviewed this document and gave us valuable criticism, including Frank Bonilla, Elena Padilla and members of the project advisory committee.

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S STATEMENT

With this report on Black and Latino males, the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies continues a seventy-year tradition of activism on behalf of children and families in New York City. Beginning with twenty-two child welfare agencies the Federation of Protestant Welfare agencies was established in 1922 to strengthen services for children and to give voice to both Protestant and non-sectarian agencies serving children. The institution-building and advocacy agenda of the Federation soon encompassed all aspects of family life, from child care to benefits for the elderly.

The health, economic and social problems of Black and Latino males threaten to engulf innumerable families. The dilemma faced by too many Black and Latino males is characterized by pervasive poverty, debilitating miseducation, high unemployment, disproportionate incarceration and premature death.

This threat is so severe that it compels the Federation to action. Unfortunately, minority males in this city have few advocates who promote policies and programs that would increase their access to mainstream institutions and strengthen their ties to families and communities. Rather, the policies and practical applications of many institutions succeed only in weakening these bonds.

The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies is publishing this report as one activity in a series to place the needs of Black and Latino males on the public agenda. We convened a committee of concerned experts who have guided and continue to give shape to an action plan that addresses the needs of Black and Latino males in New York City. By focusing public attention on the correlation between the precarious status of Black and Latino males and the deteriorating condition of Black and Latino families, the Federation hopes to stimulate an urgency for formulating and implementing policies and programs that improve options and opportunities for minority males. In our view, it is one of the most effective and long-lasting strategies for strengthening families.

This report is designed to provide a contextual framework. The intent is to provide the reader with data and information on how Black and Latino males are faring in various systems. One fundamental premise of this publication is that the situation of Black and Latino males is the result of several factors, including decades of discriminatory policies and institutional practices. While the information

in this report should be cause for alarm, we hope it will be used as a catalyst for enacting policies and developing programs that will change these conditions. The facts clearly call for immediate action that includes removing barriers and creating opportunities for Black and Latino males.

The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies pledges to be an active participant in crafting and implementing an action agenda to meet the needs of Latino and Black men in New York City.

Megan E. McLaughlin, DSW
Executive Director/CEO

FOREWORD

At the close of the 1980s, when the mounting problems of Black and Latino males were grabbing national media attention, the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies constituted an advisory committee comprised of representatives in the public, private and voluntary sectors to assess the problem in New York City and make recommendations that would address the problems. This advisory committee came to a quick consensus—that the situation was indeed grave (each of us had some personal experience that linked us to the problem) and that Black and Latino males lacked a strong advocate in New York (although advocates exist to promote the welfare of practically every other interest group). This initiative is being undertaken to fill that void.

In the first meetings of the committee, we had some issues to hammer out. By focusing on males, would we place Latino and Black women and children in further jeopardy? Could we develop a strategy that encompasses the common needs of Black and Latino males as well as the specific needs of different ethnic groups and cultures within these populations, i.e., will recommendations that serve Puerto Ricans meet the needs of other emerging Latino groups—Dominicans, Hondurans, Mexicans, etc.? Should we emphasize the needs of youth or should our efforts encompass males throughout the life cycle? We believe we have addressed some of these questions; others are still areas of debate.

With the publication of this report, the Federation is issuing a clarion call to action. It is one step in a series that seeks to place the needs of Black and Latino males on the public agenda.

The proportions of the national crisis are well-documented and widely acknowledged. Black and Latino males fare poorly, served by every social, health, and economic indicator. Poverty is an ever-present fact of life for Blacks and Latinos. Unemployment rates for Black and Latino males have been consistently higher than the rate for White males; for Latino males they are almost twice the rate for white males. The gulf in wages between Blacks and Latinos and their White counterparts is ever-widening. The number of Black males in the criminal justice system exceeds the number enrolled in college. Black and Latino males have considerably shorter life spans and fall prey to disease,

accidents and violence more often than White males. Black males are more likely to be disconnected from families, single, divorced or separated.

The current status of Black and Latino males on the national level is replicated and magnified at the local level. In New York City, more Black and Latino men and youth are unemployed, the health crisis is dominated by violence and AIDS, and school dropout and suspension rates are higher than in other parts of the country.

Even before the current budget crisis, few resources were available to meet the specific needs of Black and Latino males. Home Relief, one of the few income security safety net programs for which men are eligible, has been perpetually placed on the budget chopping block. The dearth of resources available to help men released from prison reintegrate back into the community has been consistently cited as a failure of policy and service delivery. Culturally relevant programs designed to channel creative energy and develop leadership talents in Black and Latino boys are the experiments of a visionary few, and even when demonstrated as successful are not embraced and actively promoted.

The approach of the advisory committee is to engage New York City in an action plan to counteract the negative effects of long-term stigmatization, discrimination and neglect. We believe that now is the time to reverse the historic marginalization of Black and Latino males. We must collectively undertake intensive advocacy and legislative activity, and we must develop effective programs at the community level to intervene in the lives of Black and Latino men and boys.

We all have a role -- legislators, public officials, service providers, advocates and activists alike. The advisory committee is pleased to have played a role in developing this initiative. It includes young people speaking for themselves in focus groups, data collected from public and private not-for-profits; and a conference designed to reach a broader audience.

This report is central to this initiative. For now, let us absorb and digest the information. It is clear that facts and statistics are only a means by which we bring into focus the particular areas of need. But they do provide a context.

From here, armed with our awareness, we can go and do battle, and reclaim hope for Black and Latino males, our families, our City, and indeed, even our nation.

African-American & Latino Males
Advisory Committee

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SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The economic and social problems of Black and Latino men in New York City have a long and deeply rooted history in the city's institutions. These problems have been and continue to be related to lack of access to good jobs and limited attention from social service agencies and advocates. Except for the criminal justice system, Black and Latino men remain largely ignored and invisible in public policy.

The city has three causes for alarm: First, the problems of Black and Latino men are worsening at a time when Blacks and Latinos constitute the majority in the city. Second, the city's leaders have not found a way to address the problems. And lastly, many groups and institutions remain reluctant to address the problems.

Employment and Training: The Root of the Problem

Most of the problems of Black and Latino men in the city are directly attributable to their historical and current underrepresentation in good jobs.

In New York City's private sector, Black and Latino men have limited access to industries that pay good salaries. More than four of every ten Black and Latino men in 1990 were employed in low-wage service industries, as compared to less than 30 percent of the city's White males. The public sector has been a major source of good jobs for Black and, to a lesser extent, Latino men. Still, they are concentrated largely in a narrow range of agencies. Despite the limited access of Black and Latino men to good jobs in the public sector, New York City is the only major city without an affirmative action plan.

The unemployment rate of Black men has increasingly diverged from that of White men. In 1975, the unemployment rate of Black and other men was 13.5 percent and the rate for White men was 10.6 percent. By 1989, the unemployment rate for Black men was nearly three times as high as that of White men: 13.5 percent versus 5.6 percent. The unemployment rate of Latino men in 1989 was 8.7 percent.

Less than 60 percent of the working age population of Black men were employed in 1989 compared to 68 percent of the White and Latino male populations.

Once unemployed, Black and Latino men are likely to be unemployed for much longer periods than White men. In 1990, 21 percent of all Latino men, 18 percent of all Black

men and 16 percent of the city's White males were unemployed for 27 weeks or more.

Although Black and Latino men constitute a disproportionate share of the unemployed, they are a small share of the claimants for unemployment benefits. In 1990, White males were 32 percent of the unemployment claimants, Black males were 14 percent and Latino men were 13 percent.

In 1990, Black males were 26 percent of the training program participants in the New York City Department of Employment's Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) program. Latino males were 17 percent of the trainees and White males were three percent. Less than half of the Black males, however, were placed in jobs compared to 54 percent of the Latino males and 62 percent of the White males.

Education: A Long History of Denial

Despite continuing pleas from a long line of Black and Latino leaders in New York, educational institutions have never offered the same opportunities to Black and Latino men as White men. Young Black and Latino boys are often separated within classrooms and labeled as special problems or suspended at an early age. They are less likely to enroll in college or earn a degree. Black and Latino students have few role models in the public schools or in colleges.

Black males are suspended more often and earlier than Latino and White males. In the 1989-90 school year 14,470 Black males were suspended from elementary and intermediate schools. They represented 43 percent of the suspensions from elementary and intermediate schools. Nearly half of all of the suspensions of Black males were in elementary school. There were 8,164 Latino males suspended from elementary and intermediate school constituting 25 percent of the suspensions. The majority of the suspensions of Latino males occurred in intermediate schools. The 2,627 White males suspended from elementary and intermediate schools accounted for eight percent of the suspensions on that level. The majority of White males were also suspended from the intermediate level.

In the city's public high schools, Black males accounted for 41 percent of the suspensions in 1988-89, Latino men 20 percent, and White males 11 percent.

Black and Latino males accounted for 51 percent of the city's special education population in 1990. In that year, there

were 33,787 Black males, 27,668 Latino males and 14,309 White males in these programs.

Suspensions of Black and Latino males from special education programs grew rapidly between 1988 and 1990 when they increased 164 percent for Black males, 146 for Latino males and 65 percent for White males.

Dropout figures are not available by gender from the Board of Education. The official Board of Education drop-out rates in 1989 were 26 percent for Latinos, 17 percent for Blacks and 14 percent for Whites.

The undergraduate enrollment of Black males in metropolitan colleges has declined in recent years despite an increase in the college age population. Between 1982 and 1988, the number of Black men in undergraduate college declined by one percent. The number of Latino men enrolled in college grew by three percent. White male enrollment declined, but largely because of a decline in the college age population among Whites.

Of the bachelor degrees awarded by metropolitan colleges and universities, in 1988-1989, Black males received five percent and Latino males four percent.

Black and Latino males have few role models in educational institutions. Even though over 80 percent of students in the public schools are Black or Latino, 69 percent of the teachers in 1989 were White. White males constituted 24 percent of the total teacher workforce and White women 45 percent. Black males were only four percent of the teachers, and Latino males were three percent. The number of Black male principals declined between 1987 and 1989 from 77 to 72 while the number of Latino male principals grew from 46 to 49. In 1989, Black males were seven percent of all principals and Latino males five percent.

At the college and university level, White males were 86 percent of the faculty in 1983-84. Black and Latino males were three percent of the faculty members in the metropolitan area.

Health and Social Welfare: Threatened from Birth

The health and social welfare problems of Black and Latino men are usually the result of high rates of unemployment and the lack of attention given to their problems by

social welfare agencies.

Even though 37 percent of all Latino and 27 percent of all Black men were in poverty in 1980, they have not been the target of sustained advocacy during the last decade. Only nine percent of the White male population was in poverty in 1980, the last date poverty data were available by gender and race.

At an early age, Black and Latino male babies are likely to have widely different causes of death from White males and these differences continue until the men are in their thirties. Sudden infant death syndrome is a major cause of death among Black and Latino male infants but not White males. Among young Black and Latino males aged 15-24, homicide is the leading cause of death. Over 66 percent of the deaths of young Black men in this age group were attributable to homicide, as were 51 percent of those of Latinos. Among White youth in this age group, homicide accounted for 17 percent of the deaths. For males aged 25-34, homicide and AIDS are the leading causes of death of Black and Latino men. AIDS was also the leading cause of death of White men in this age group. AIDS was the leading cause of death of Black, Latino and White men in the 35-44 age group.

Estimates for 1990 indicate that 31 percent of all Latino men and 23.6 percent of the city's Black men were medically uninsured. Only 11 percent of the city's White males lacked health insurance.

Black males tend to receive disability payments at a much younger age than White males. Social Security Disability Payments in 1990 revealed that 41 percent of the Black males receiving payments were under 40 years of age compared to only 29 percent of the city's White males.

Fifty-two percent of the Black and Latino children in foster care are males. Black males are the last of the children to be adopted.

Surveys of the shelters for single males in 1990 reveal that 71 percent of the men were Black, 18 percent Latino and 11 percent White.

Criminal Justice: A Long History of Troubled Relations

New York has historically had one of the highest incar-

ceration rates of Black men in the North. The disproportionate arrest and incarceration of Black men, and more recently Latino men, is increasing. Black men are three times as likely to be arrested as White men and Latino men twice as likely.

Between 1980 and 1990, the number of Latino men arrested increased by 146 percent, Black men by 95 percent and White males by 36 percent. For every 100,000 Black males 16 and over in New York City in 1990, 3,123 were in prison. The figures were 2,720 for Latino males and 88 for White males.

Latino men are the fastest growing population in New York State prisons and city jails. Between 1960 and 1990 the number of Latino men in New York State prisons increased by 813 percent, Black men increased by 254 percent and White men increased by 16 percent.

Most state prison inmates from New York City are in their late twenties and early thirties. In 1990 the median age of Black males in prison was 31, Latino men 32 and White males 35. The average years of education completed by White and Black males inmates was 10 years compared to nine years for Latino men. Irrespective of race and ethnicity, most male inmates from New York read below the 12th grade level.

In secure facilities for juveniles, Black males constituted 67 percent of the residents and Latino males 30 percent in 1990. Between 1985 and 1990, the number of Black youth in secure detention facilities increased by 80 percent, Latinos increased by 59 percent. The number of White youth in secure detention facilities declined by eight percent.

Family: Adaptations and Survival

Much has been written about Black and Latino families. However, few studies have been done of the Black family in New York City, and none that describe the role of men. The last systematic study of the Black family in New York City was conducted by E. Franklin Frazier in 1936. Puerto Rican families have been studied much more extensively and the role of the male in the family has been given more attention.

Twenty-two percent of all Black males under six years of age lived with other relatives in 1980, compared to 10

percent of all Latino males and four percent of all White males.

Black men in all groups are less likely to be married than White, Puerto Rican, or other Latino males. In 1980, 31 percent of Black men aged 20-34 were maried, compared to 43 percent of Puerto Rican males and 36 percent of White males in that age group. Among males 35-59 years of age, 59 percent of Black males were married. For Puerto Rican and White males it was 66 percent and 69 percent respectively.

Sixty percent of all Black males 20-24 and 25 percent of those in the 25-29 age group lived at home. Among White males a similar pattern was found. Of those 20-24, 58 percent lived at home as did 22 percent of those 25-29. Among Latino men 48 percent of those 20-24 and 19 percent of those 25-29 lived at home.

INTRODUCTION

Economic desperation has gripped thousands of families and individuals in New York City's Black and Latino communities for most of the last three decades. While some city residents shared in the success of the financial markets in the 1980s, major segments of the Black and Latino populations plunged further into poverty. In the 1980 census, 30 percent of all Blacks and 36 percent of the city's Latinos were in poverty compared to 13 percent of the White population. Among males, 27 percent of Black males and 37 percent of Latino males were in poverty, compared to nine percent of White males. Estimates by the Community Service Society of New York for 1987 reveal that 36 percent of all Blacks and 42 percent of the city's Latinos reside in poverty. The estimate for Whites was 19 percent.

Hiring and promotion practices have limited the economic mobility of Blacks and Latinos and resulted in extended periods of joblessness and unemployment for many able-bodied adults. A paucity of affordable housing units has condemned many poor people to homelessness. Health care reaches only a small proportion of those in need of assistance, and a variety of illnesses prematurely kill or incapacitate thousands of Blacks and Latinos. Crime has exacerbated the economic desperation and caused the premature death of many Blacks and Latinos, especially males. Thousands of men have been incarcerated for drugs and property crimes, and the number of women in prison is increasing. For many Blacks and Latinos, prisons offer the only sure connection they have with public institutions. The criminal justice system has become a revolving door for the unemployed and undereducated, and prisons are fast becoming a major institution in the socialization of Black and Latino youth.

It is almost a universal belief that the quality of a society can be judged by the compassion it shows for its children. The most invisible victims of inequality and poverty in New York City are children. Nevertheless, there is some public recognition of the need to address the problems of Black and Latino children, and there are targeted programs and policies to meet their needs. The converse is true for Black and Latino men. While the symptoms of their problems are growing more visible daily, responses to their problems are virtually nonexistent. The picture painted by Richard Wright in the 1920s rings as true today

as it did then:

> *They [unemployed Black men] loitered in doorways with blank looks in their eyes, sat dejectedly on front steps in shabby clothing, congregated in sullen groups on street corners, and filled the empty benches in parks...*

Simply add a sentence about Black men begging and sleeping on subway cars and street corners and we have the contemporary version of Wright's observation.

As in the 1920s, many private and public employers, as well as unions, still grant only limited access to Black and Latino men. Over the years, despite laws barring employment discrimination, many barriers have resisted the test of time. A comparison of the 1900 census with the 1980 census shows that the menial jobs where Black men were concentrated in 1900 are the principal ones held by large numbers of them 130 years later.

Purpose of this Report

This report documents the problems of the visible but largely ignored victims of poverty in New York City -- Black and Latino males. It assembles a broad range of data regarding the connections between the City's Black and Latino men and its social and economic institutions. Although major gaps exist in the information available (a possible indication of the lack of attention paid to these groups), there is sufficient evidence to provide the framework for wide discussion and decision making about institutional policies and their effects on Black and Latino men, their families, and their communities.

New York City is a particularly relevant place to examine the problems of Black and Latino men. First, it is the nation's largest city and it has the highest combined concentration of Black and Latino males. In 1980, New York City had the nation's largest Black population and the second largest Latino population, including 757,137 non-Latino Black males and 655,588 Latino males. Black males were 23 percent of the city's male population; Latino males were 20 percent. The two groups comprised 20 percent of the city's population in 1980.

Second, the Black and Latino communities in New York City are among the oldest in any northern city. The

city's Black population dates to the 1700s, longer than most of the city's other ethnic groups. New York City has historically served as a point of entry for Puerto Rican immigrants to the mainland U.S., and they have lived in the city since the 1800s. Since the 1960s the city has also drawn thousands of immigrants from the Dominican Republic and other Caribbean islands. An examination of how its institutions have dealt with Black and Latino men provides one of the clearest perspectives on the relationship of urban institutions to men of color.

Third, New York City offers a glimpse of how cities are dealing with demographic transitions. Blacks and Latinos together with Asian-Americans are the fastest growing groups in the nation and now constitute the majority of the population in New York City. On the average, Black and Latino males in the City are considerably younger than White men. In 1980, the median age of Latino males was 23.8 years compared to 25.5 years for Black males and 34.8 for White males.

Organization and Data Collection

This report is divided into five sections: employment, education, health/social welfare, criminal justice, and family. Each section provides a brief historical overview of how policy makers have dealt with Black and Latino males in order to help clarify the context and evolution of the current problem. Following the historical review, current data are presented and interpreted. We also have included highlights of discussions with young Black and Latino males in focus groups, in order to complement and enrich the data.

This report draws primarily on data from federal surveys and administrative data from New York City and New York State agencies. The employment data are from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and the New York City Department of Employment. The 1980 census was used as the basic source of information on Black and Latino families. The data collected in the 1990 census, which would be relevant to this analysis, is not yet available. While some researchers do use data collected from Current Population Surveys, which are collected annually, most caution that because only 55,000 families nationally are surveyed, the local sample is too small to draw reliable conclusions about New York City. The New York City Board of Education

and the New York State Department of Education provided information on education. Information on the health status of Black and Latino males was collected from the New York City Department of Health, the United States Social Security Administration, and the New York State Department of Health. Criminal justice information was drawn from the New York State Department of Corrections, the New York City Department of Corrections, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

We also collected information directly from young Black and Latino males. Five focus groups were convened, each group having eight to twelve young males between the ages of 12 and 19. The participants were from various backgrounds, from residents in juvenile detention to young males in leadership development tracks. The groups were facilitated to maximize participation. The specific agencies where focus groups were held were Alianza Dominicana, Brooklyn Haitian Ralph and Good Shepherd (BHRAGS), Albert G. Oliver Program, Prep-for-Prep Program, and Pyramid (a Division for Youth facility). The collection and synthesizing of the data used in this report occured simultaneously with the convening of the focus groups. Thus the data was not the basis of their discussions. Nevertheless, the general topics of discussion in the focus groups were the same issues on which we collected statistics.

EMPLOYMENT

ORDERED that noe Negroe or Slave be Suffered to worke the bridge as a Porter about any goods either Exported or imported from or into this Citty.

New York City Common Council, July 1686.

The alternative to entrepreneurship (in New York City) as a means of rising is to break into the developing complex of positions as professional, managerial, or clerical employees... Yet, ... prejudice and certain stereotypes of suitability have heretofore restricted the number of eligible Negroes and Puerto Ricans in them.

Oscar Handlin, 1959

Since the nation's inception, New York City has been a preeminent center of commerce and trade. In the 1700s, as now, the nation looked to New York City when assessing its economic prospects. Despite the opportunities the city has offered many groups, its major economic institutions have historically limited the upward mobility of Blacks and Latinos. Although Black labor has contributed to the city's economic success, Black men and their Latino counterparts have been consistently excluded from decent- paying jobs. They have been denied meaningful access to those industries for which the City is best known, such as finance and advertising. Their role as craftsmen was often under-utilized or usurped by waves of White immigrants. Union constitutions barred Black members. Latinos, who arrived in large numbers in the 1920s, suffered from the same exclusionary patterns.

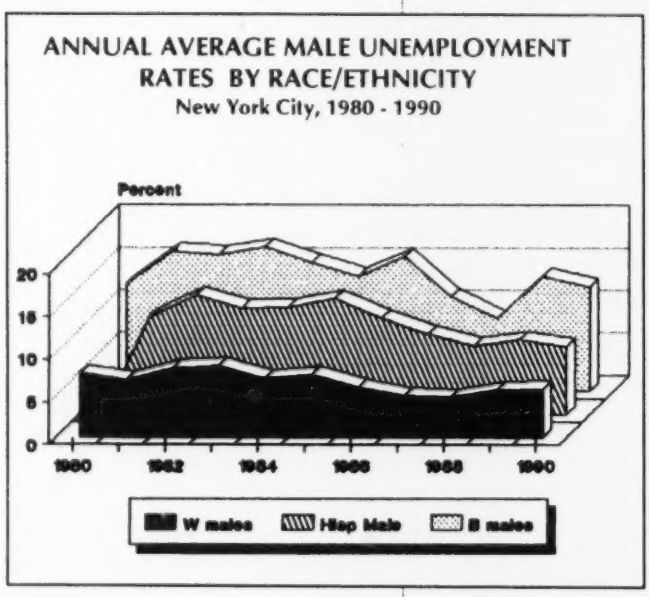
Years of national civil rights struggle have led to important laws barring discrimination against Black and Latino men in jobs and business opportunities. Many cities have supplemented national laws with stringent executive orders or legislation and by establishing set-asides for minority business opportunities. However, New York City has lagged behind other cities. It is the *only* major City in the nation without a public sector affirmative action plan. Even before the Supreme Court (City of Richmond, Va. v. J.A. Croson Co., 1989) limited the ability of municipalities to establish minority set-aside programs, New York City had refused to develop such a plan.

Unemployment

High unemployment exists for Black and Latino males in periods of both growth and decline. In the growth period of the mid-1980s, Black and Latino males did not benefit substantially from the economic boom and they have been disproportionately affected by the subsequent economic downturn. By the end of the 1980s, unemployment rates among Black and Latino males diverged more from White males than they had in the 1970s. In 1989 Black and Latino men constituted 24 percent of the labor force but 40 percent of the unemployed. Traditionally, the ratio of Black male to White male unemployment has been two-to-one. However, in 1989, it was approaching three-to-one: 13.5 percent for Black males as compared to 5.6 percent for White males.

The unemployment rate for Latino males is more difficult to measure, as some Latinos are counted among Whites. In 1989 the unemployment rate for Latino males was 8.7 percent. (Figure 1 shows annual average male unemployment rates by ethnicity.)

Figure 1



Source: *Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Dept. of Labor*

Like Black adults, Black teenagers are confronted with limited job opportunities. Nearly half (45.6 percent) were unemployed in 1989 as were 36 percent of the city's Latino youth. By comparison, White teenage unemployment was 18 percent.

All of the males in our focus groups shared a strong attachment to the work ethic. Practically every participant wanted to work, but only a few were employed at the time the focus groups were conducted, and most felt that the opportunities for employment were severely limited. They expressed a high degree of frustration at not being able to acquire employment "no matter how hard they looked." Low wages were a concern, but most indicated a willingness to take jobs even at the minimum wage *if they could learn something that would help them later.*

While unemployment figures are the most often cited data on males and the labor market, they measure only those persons actively seeking work. Masked in the data are the men who are discouraged and no longer look for jobs. In 1980, 35 percent of all Black males 16 and older were no

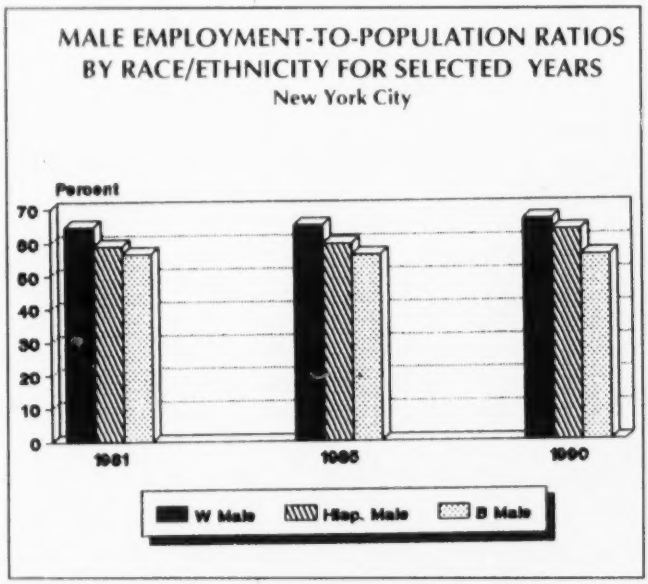
longer in the labor force. This was about five points higher than for Latino males (30 percent) and White males (29 percent). Data on discouraged workers are unavailable for recent years.

Another useful indicator is the employment-population ratio (the proportion of the working age population 16 years and over actually holding jobs). In 1990, the employment-population ratio for Black males was 55.7 percent, compared to 63.3 percent for Latino and 66.3 percent for White males.

Once unemployed, Black and Latino males are more likely to be unemployed for longer periods than are Whites. In 1990, 21 percent of all unemployed Latino males were unemployed for 27 weeks or more, as were 18 percent of all Black males and 16 percent of White males.

Despite their disproportionate share of the total unemployed, Black males were only 14 percent of the unemployment insurance claimants', Latino males were 13 percent; White males constituted 22 percent.

Figure 2



Source: *Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Dept. of Labor*

Access to Good Jobs

A continuing cause of the economic problems of Black and Latino men and their communities is their inability to gain access to industries and government agencies that pay decent salaries and offer fringe benefits. Black and Latino men remain underrepresented in the City's core industries such as finance, advertising and construction, finding employment only in peripheral or declining industries such as manufacturing or low-wage service industries. In 1989, 62 percent of all Latino men and 55 percent of all Black men worked in manufacturing or services. Less than half (45 percent) of all White males worked in these industries.

In industries where they are employed, Black and Latino men are concentrated in lower-level, nonsupervisory positions. The 1980 census revealed that among the leading ten jobs held by Black and Latino males, there was not one professional category. Black and Latino males continued in 1989 to be employed in low-paying administrative support occupations and as laborers and operators. According to a 1989 survey of private industries by the Equal Employment Opportunity

Commission (EEOC), 40 percent of all Black males and 38 percent of all Latino males worked as clericals, operators or laborers, compared to 19 percent of White males.

The Black and Latino male share of higher-paying jobs was substantially below their share of private sector employment. In 1989, Black males were nine percent of the City's private sector workforce, but only four percent of the officials and managers and three percent of the professionals. Latino males made up seven percent of the City's private sector labor force but only three percent of the officials and managers and two percent of the professionals. White males were 32 percent of the private sector workforce but 56 percent of the officials and managers.

In the focus group, many of the young males felt that opportunities for them in the labor market were limited. However, the youth in the enrichment programs, such as Albert G. Oliver and Prep-for-Prep, both of which place gifted Black and Latino students in independent schools and colleges, were much more optimistic and felt they would secure high-paying jobs.

Employee Training

Currently, the Job Training Partnership Act is the major job training program assisting lower-income workers gain occupational skills. Data from the New York City Department of Employment for 1990 reveal that Black males were 25 percent of the training program participants; Latino males, 17 percent; and White males, three percent. However, less than half (49.3 percent) of the Black males were placed in jobs, compared to 54 percent of the Latino males and 62 percent of the White males. Black males who were not placed in a job after training were less likely than White or Latino males to find other educational opportunities. The 1990 data reveal that 40 percent of the Black male participants were not placed in a job or did not find another training program. This compares to 37 percent of Latino and 34 percent of White male participants.

Apprenticeship

Data from the New York State Division of Apprenticeship Programs for 1990 reveal that in New York City Blacks were 14 percent of the apprentices, and Latinos seven percent. Data for each group are not separated by gender. Men are 95 percent of the apprentices and non-minorities are 78 percent.

EDUCATION

To educate is to deposit in every man the whole of human effort preceding him .... it is to prepare the man for life.

Jose Marti

Negro students in New York receive outrageous treatment from White teachers.

W.E.B. DuBois, 1907

.... Sporadic demonstrations, dramatic and fervent though they have been, cannot succeed in achieving sustained fundamental change in the schools. Such change can only come when the majority sources of power recognize the danger to themselves and their communities and proceed to act. . . . .the quality of the school system does indeed decline, not because Negroes are inferior, but because the school system behaves as though they are.

Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto, 1965.

Thirty-seven years after the Brown v. Board of Education decision .... school system that continues to be retarded by de facto segregation, cultural discrimination and institutional obsolescence.... Empirical evidence underscores the dire need for new educational models that will affirmatively address the crises currently enveloping young African American and Latino males.

Assemblyman Roger L. Green, 1991 UJAMMA: Education for Social Transformation Elementary and Secondary Schools.

Although Blacks and Latinos rely heavily on public education as a path to economic mobility, educational institutions in New York City have often served as an additional barrier to fulfilling their aspirations. From the beginning of the incorporation into the City's public school system in 1854, funding for Black schools was inadequate.

Following the draft riot of 1863, in which hundreds of Black men and their children and families were killed and the men mutilated, school authorities developed separate facilities for Black youth. The earliest "colored" schools in New York usually failed to provide even the most meager educational and job training for Black men. Accounts of the schools in the 1800s indicate that truancy and dropping-out among Black males were serious problems. The high drop-out rates alarmed

Black leaders and led to debates among Blacks about the role of teachers and whether they should be Black or White. Some Blacks also demanded separate control of the schools when they recognized that the schools were not preparing or encouraging Black youth to learn.

Black leaders were not the only groups seeking alternatives. In response to the poor preparation of Black males for the transition from school to work, some private White institutions in the late 1800s, notably churches, developed alternative classes to train young Black males in the trades. By the 1930s, the inadequate training of Black males by the public schools had captured the attention of the state government. In 1939, the New York State Temporary Commission on the Condition of the Colored Urban Population concluded that the training policies of the New York City Schools were:

> *. . . narrow in outlook and vicious in consequence. It is the completion of a vicious circle in that Negroes cannot find jobs without training and they are refused training because they might not be able to find the jobs .*

Similar educational struggles were played out in New York City in the 1960s in the debate over local control of schools. As before, the problems of young Black and Latino males were often central to the arguments. As in the 1800s, the drop-out rates in the 1960s were high, and Blacks and Latinos charged that the largely White teaching staff was insensitive to their cultures, especially to the role of men. Complicating these problems was the school system's failure to provide bilingual education. Puerto Rican activists, scholars, and community leaders had been arguing since the 1960s for a bilingual approach to education. It was only in 1968 that bilingual education was initiated in a Bronx school by the New York City Board of Education.

The problems facing Black and Latino males have not been limited to elementary and secondary schools but are also found in higher education. Matriculation by Black and Latino men in college has historically been discouraged by various policies and institutions. For example, in the 1800s the trustees of New York City's African Free School discouraged higher education for Blacks, arguing that it was "the duty of everyone to do all the good in his sphere in which Providence has placed him." (Litwack, 1961) And, although the City University of New York was established in 1847, it was not until 1968 that Blacks and Latinos gained wide

scale entrance through Open Admissions.

Black and Latino leaders continue to echo the same concerns about high drop-out rates, teacher insensitivity and access to higher education. There is widespread agreement that current problems in New York City schools on all levels reflect the inability of the system to adjust to the changing racial and ethnic mix. And, as before, there is a growing acceptance of community control of schools to improve the educational performance of Black and Latino youth, instill positive values, and present them with positive role models and a sense of their cultural heritage. One widely debated proposal seeks to create a separate school for young Black males, based upon Afrocentric values.

Data from the Board of Education on suspensions and referrals to special education indicate that the schools are failing large numbers of Black and Latino youth. The information also reveals that Black and Latino males have few Black and Latino male role models within the schools and colleges.

Table 1

New York City Annual Pupil Ethnic Census by School Level
October 31, 1989

Level	Hispanic		Black		White		Other	
Elementary	175,851	36.7%	176,079	36.7%	92,559	19.3%	35,140	7.4%
Junior High School / Intermediate	65,503	35.1%	71,601	38.4%	35,333	18.9%	14,076	7.6%
High Schools	78,545	30.4%	104,116	40.4%	52,235	20.2%	23,067	9.0%
Academic	61,055	29.2%	80,307	38.5%	46,755	22.4%	20,704	9.9%
Vocational	10,188	37.2%	13,190	48.2%	2,782	10.2%	1,194	4.4%
Alternative	6,961	33.5%	10,063	48.4%	2,592	12.5%	1,156	5.6%
GED Programs	341	33.6%	556	54.7%	106	10.4%	13	1.3%
Special Ed Schools	4,592	31.6%	7,493	51.5%	2,109	14.5%	346	2.4%
Total	324,491	34.6%	359,289	38.3%	182,236	19.4%	72,629	7.8%

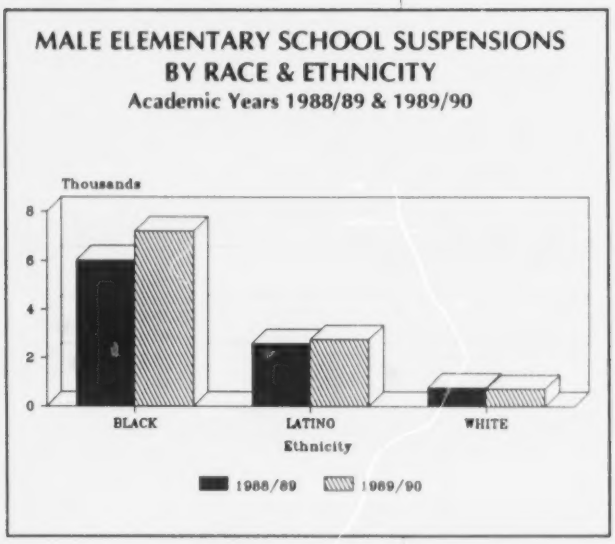
Source: *Annual Pupil Ethnic Census, October 31, 1989, New York City Public Schools.*

Unfortunately, the Board of Education does not collect and analyze data that allows us to quantify how many Black and Latino students are males. Figure three shows the ethnic background of New York City's public school students during the 1989-1990 school year. A rough estimate provided by school officials places the number of Black males in elementary schools at 88,600, in intermediate and junior high schools at 35,800, and in high school at 32,000. The number of Latino males in elementary schools is estimated at 87,900; in intermediate schools at 32,800; and 39,300 in high school.

An Increase in Suspensions

In the 1989-90 school year 14,470 Black males were suspended from elementary and intermediate schools. Black male suspensions were nearly twice as many as for Latino males (8,164) and almost seven times as many as White males

Figure 3



Source: *New York City Board of Education*

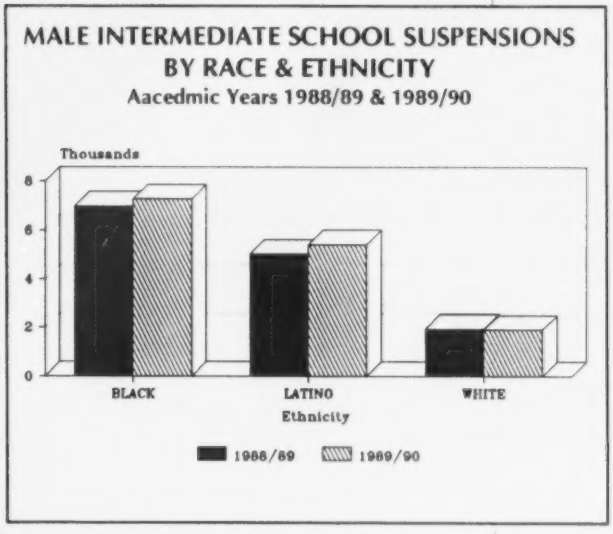
(2,627). Black males accounted for 43 percent of all of the suspensions from elementary and intermediate schools; Latino males accounted for 25 percent; White males accounted for only eight percent of the suspensions. As Figure six reveals, among Black male youth, nearly half of all suspensions (49.8 percent) occurred in elementary school, while only 34 percent of the Latino and 27 percent of White males were suspended at that level. In New York City high schools, Black males accounted for 41 percent of the students suspended in 1988-89, Latino males 20 percent and White males 11 percent.

Suspensions of Black and Latino males have been increasing in the school system despite growing concern about the educational problems of both groups. From 1988 to 1990, suspensions of Black males in elementary schools increased by 20 percent and of Latino males by six percent. Suspensions of White males in elementary schools declined by eight percent. In the city's intermediate schools, suspensions of Black males increased by four percent, Latino males by eight percent and White males by two percent.

Drop-Outs

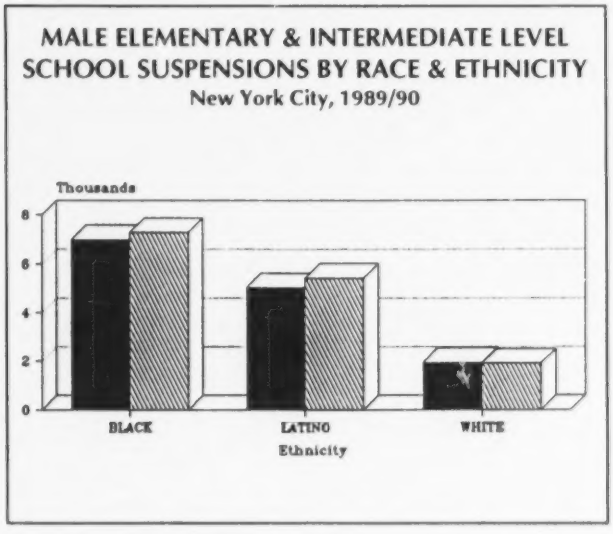
Despite some recent improvements in drop-out rates, data

Figure 4



Source: *New York City Board of Education*

Figure 5



Source: *New York City Board of Education*

on the drop-out rate for the class of 1989 show that almost one of every five Black students and one of every four Latino students failed to complete school.

The Board of Education figures for 1989 show that a slight majority of all drop-outs (53.3 percent) were males. While the exact number of Black male high school drop-outs cannot be known, we can estimate that more than half of the 6,949 Black students who dropped out were male.

Table 2

Four Year Cohort Dropout Rate for Ethnic/Racial Populations: 1989

Ethnic/Racial Background	Dropout Rate
American Indian/Alaskan Native	24.8%
Asian/Pacific Islander	14.8%
Hispanic	25.7%
Black (Non-Hispanic)	18.6%
White (Non-Hispanic)	14.0%
Total	20.9%

Note: Dropout rates are estimates based on data derived from the 1985-86 Annual Pupil Ethnic Census for students in the ninth grade.

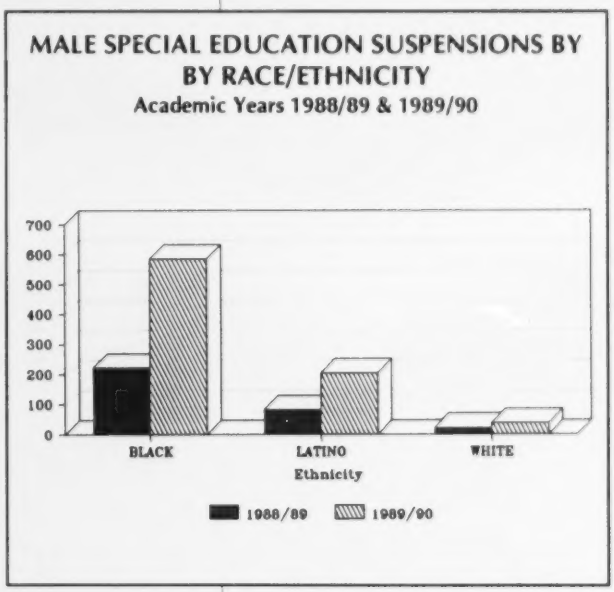
Source: *The Cohort Report: Four Year Results for the Class of 1989 and follow-ups of the Class of 1986, 1987 and 1988 and the 1988-89 Annual Drop-Out Rate. June 1990, New York City Public Schools*

Special Education

Special education is one of the most sensitive areas of discussion in educational policy. While it seems clear that many physically disabled youth need special education programs, education theorists and practitioners disagree about the use of special education for children diagnosed as having "learning disabilities." Many observers maintain that this diagnosis is widely used for children perceived by teachers as unruly.

More than half of all children assigned to special education are placed there in the first, second or third grades. Once placed in special education, students are almost never "decertified" and allowed to return to regular education classes, and most never finish high school. Only four percent of the special education students who were part of the class of 1989 graduated in four years. Even though a substantial number of special education students remain in high school for seven years until they are 21 and "age out" of the school system, only one-fourth graduate with some kind of diploma.

Figure 6



Source: *New York City Board of Education*

While the policy debate continues, the reality is that Black and Latino males fill the special education classrooms in New York City. In 1990, there were 33,787 Black, 27,668 Latino and 14,309 White males in the city's special education population. Black males accounted for 28 percent of special education students, Latino males accounted for 23 percent and White males accounted for 12 percent. Within special education, the majority of

Table 3

PUBLIC SCHOOL SPECIAL EDUCATION SUSPENSIONS
September 1989 - June 1990

Hispanic Males		Black Males		White Males		Total	
204	24.6%	586	70.6%	38	4.6%	830	100.0%

Source: *New York City Board of Education*

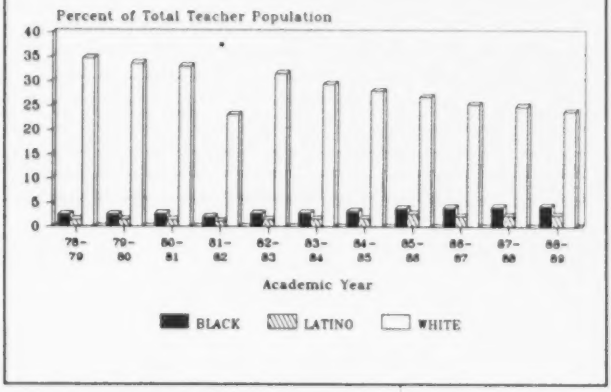
each group was enrolled in two programs: those for students diagnosed with learning disabilities and those for the emotionally disturbed. Fifty-eight percent of all Black males in special education were in programs for the learning disabled, as were 64 percent of the Latino males and 57 percent of the White males. Twenty-three percent of the Black males were in programs for the emotionally disturbed compared with 16 percent of the Latino and 16 percent of the White males.

The number of Black males in special education programs increased by five percent and the number of Latino males increased by 11 percent between 1985 and 1990. White males in these programs declined by 14 percent. The number of White males diagnosed as emotionally disturbed also declined, while the number of both Black and Latino males with this diagnosis each increased by over five percent.

Black and Latino males also are suspended from special education programs more frequently than White males. Relative to other suspensions in the school system, the 830 suspensions from special education programs in 1989-1990 seem less significant. It is noteworthy, however, that 95 percent of that total represents Black and Latino males. As Figure six shows, between 1988 and 1990 suspensions of Black males in special education jumped by 164 percent, Latino males by 146 percent, and White males by 65 percent.

Figure 7

MALE PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS BY RACE & ETHNICITY
New York City 1978/79 to 1988/89



Source: *New York City Board of Education Office of Equal Opportunity*

Role Models

Black and Latino youth in the schools have few Black and Latino male role models. In 1989, 69 percent of all teachers were White, even though 80 percent of the student body was Black, Latino and Asian American. White men were 24 percent and White women 45 percent of the total teaching workforce. Women made up over two-thirds (68.4 percent) of the teaching staffs. Black males constituted only four percent of teachers, Latino males three percent. The proportion of Black and Latino male teachers has shown little improvement since the early 1980s. Among special education teachers, 68 percent were White; only five percent were

Black males and two percent were Latino males.

A closer look at the composition of the school faculty reveals that in 1989, 69 percent of principals were White (49 percent White male and 20 percent White female). The number of Black male principals has declined in recent years while the number of Latinos has increased.

Among guidance counselors, in 1989, 68 percent were female, and 75 percent were White. Black males were four percent of the counselors; Latino males were two percent.

Higher Education

The problems of Black and Latino males in the public schools are continued in higher education.

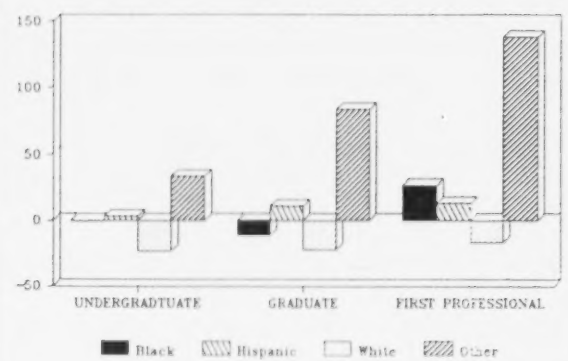
Despite continuing controversy over standards and tuition, CUNY plays an important role in educating the city's Blacks and Latinos. In 1989, 54 percent of CUNY's enrollment was Black and Latino, making it one of the nation's leaders in awarding baccalaureate degrees to Blacks and Latinos. In 1986, three percent of all bachelor's degrees awarded to Black males were awarded by CUNY, as were four percent of the degrees awarded to Latino males. CUNY awarded less than one percent of the bachelor's degrees awarded to White men. Despite the importance of the CUNY institutions to the educational development of Black and Latino males, serious problems continue.

Enrollment

The enrollment of Black males in metropolitan colleges has been declining in recent years. Between 1982-88, Black male enrollment in undergraduate programs declined by almost one percent. It declined in graduate programs by 11 percent and grew in first professional degree programs by 26 percent. The enrollment of Latino males grew at all degree levels, while White male enrollment, due largely to a decline in the college age population, declined at all levels.

Figure 8

MALE POST-SECONDARY ENROLLMENT BY RACE & ETHNICITY
New York City Fall 1982 to Fall 1988



Source: *New York State Department of Education*

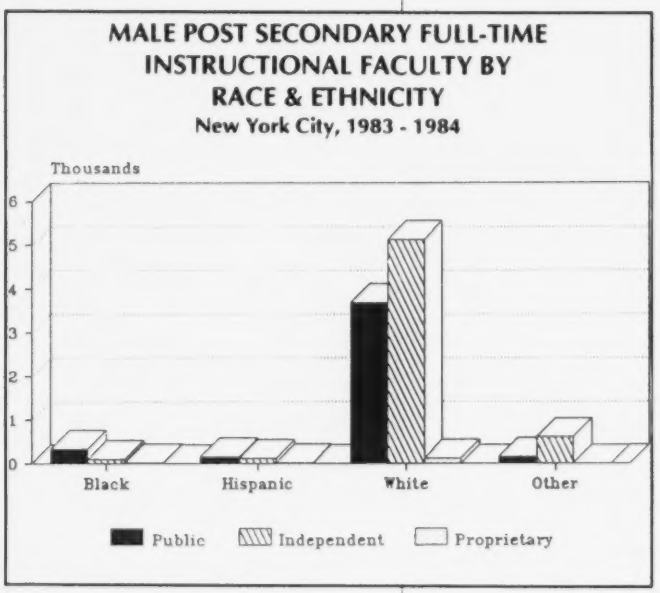
Degrees Conferred

Black and Latino males are only a small percentage of those receiving degrees at all levels of higher education. Among degree recipients at the associate's level, Black males were eight percent and Latino males five percent. At the B.A. level, Black males received five percent and Latino males four percent of the degrees awarded. At the masters' level, Black males were three percent and Latino males two percent of the degree recipients. Black and Latino males each received two percent of all doctorates awarded.

Faculty

Similar to patterns at the elementary and secondary school levels, only a small number of Black and Latino males serve on the faculties of the universities and colleges in the New York metropolitan area. In 1983-84, Black males were four percent, and Latino males three percent of the total faculty. In contrast, White males comprised 86 percent of college faculty in New York City.

Figure 9



Source: *New York State Department of Education*

HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE

For poverty and death go hand in hand and the proportion of Negroes in New York who live in great poverty far exceeds the proportion of Whites.

Mary White Ovington, 1911

Vehemently protesting the fact that Puerto Rican mothers had no place to go for infant care where they were understoood the[Puerto Rican and Hispanic] League launched a campaign for city support for a child health clinic in East Harlem to be staffed by Spanish-speaking personnel. On October 13, 1929, Mayor James Walker inaugurated the new clinic.

Pírez,

We conclude that Harlem and probably other inner-city areas with largely Black populations have extremely high mortality rates that justify special consideration analogous to that given to natural disaster areas.

McCord and Freeman, 1990

Death rates among Blacks in New York City have been exceptionally high since slavery. Living in squalid conditions with limited access to proper diet and health care, Blacks were exposed to and died from diseases in disproportionate numbers in the 1700s and 1800s.

Writing in 1901 about excessive Black deaths in New York City, W.E. DuBois attributed the problem to the great mass of migrants huddled in unsanitary housing. In 1890, a period of increasing wealth for many White New Yorkers, the death rate for Blacks was 38 per thousand, an increase from the period following the Civil War. The White death rate had dropped to 29 per thousand. The most common diseases were tuberculosis, pneumonia, and consumption. The highest death rates were among Black men. Their deaths depleted the size of a population already much smaller than the Black female population.

New York's social agencies were slow to respond to the health and related social needs of Blacks. The Quakers were the most visible and active group making contributions to the needs of Blacks in the 1800s. The early 1900s brought a greater recognition among charitable groups of Blacks' social welfare and health problems. The founding of the National Urban League in 1910 and the New York Urban League in 1919 brought greater visibility to the

plight of the Black community. Still, the needs of the masses of poor Blacks remained unaddressed. (Bloch 1969; Guichard & Brooks, 1971)

With the increase of the Puerto Rican population in the 1920s, the city and its charitable institutions faced a major crisis in social welfare and health. The health problems of Puerto Ricans, like those of Blacks, were largely attributable to poverty, poor housing, and lack of services. Traditional agencies were slow to respond to the problems of Puerto Ricans. However, gradually some private social welfare agencies created special units with Spanish-speaking personnel and began to extend services to Puerto Rican families. The establishment of Aspira and the Puerto Rican Forum after World War II began to bring the social and educational problems of this community into focus. These organizations were followed by others largely serving small areas. The office of the government of Puerto Rico, first established in the 1950s, took a role in the placement of contract labor and other employment functions, moving finally into the arenas of education and political participation.

As has been the case with Blacks, the problems of the Latino community have never received the attention they required. The limited availability of services has continually been reflected in health problems. The death rate of Puerto Ricans in the early 1900s and throughout their early migration to New York City was high. Poor housing and limited access to medical care remained a major problem facing Puerto Ricans in the 1920s. Although greater attention was given to the problem in the 1960s, health conditions in the Puerto Rican community remain a major problem today.

By the 1980s, a health crisis for Black and Latino men had been reached in many New York City communities. Among younger men, especially Blacks, homicides were a leading reason for high death rates. The youth in our focus groups were keenly aware that homicide is their primary health risk and killer. Every group vividly discussed their shared feelings of endangerment and that there were few places where they felt safe.

In addition to homicide, AIDS became one of the leading causes of death among adult Black and Latino men in the 1980s. However, AIDS was not a focal point for the young men we interviewed. Most had a rudimentary knowledge of the disease, its transmission modes and prevention strategies. Most of the young males knew how to use a

condom, but were not practicing safe sex exclusively. The exceptions were those who were not sexually active, of whom there were several. Some personally knew someone who had died from AIDS.

Causes of Death

The leading causes of death among Black, Latino, and White males in 1989 were heart disease, malignant neoplasms, and AIDS. These broad categories, however, mask the differentials among age groups.

Ages 0-1

Starting at an early age, Black males die from causes quite different from those of Latino and White males. The two leading causes of death for Black male babies under one year are short gestation/low birth weight and sudden infant death syndrome, which account for 25 percent of Black male baby deaths. Among Latino and White male babies, congenital anomalies are the number one cause of infant death, followed by sudden infant death syndrome. These two conditions account for 30 percent of Latino deaths and 31 percent of all White male baby deaths.

Ages 2-14

In this age group, the leading cause of death for all males is accidents. However, while AIDS is the second leading cause of death for Black males and the third leading cause among Latinos, it is not a major factor for Whites.

Ages 15-24

Among teenagers and young adults, homicide is the leading cause of death for Black and Latino males. Two-thirds of the deaths of Black males (66 percent) in this age group and 51 percent of the deaths of Latino males are attributable to homicide. It is noteworthy that accidents, AIDS, and suicide also take many young Black and Latino lives. Homicides are considerably less frequent among White males (40 percent) even though it is the leading cause of death followed by accidents and suicide.

Ages 25-34

Homicide and AIDS are the leading causes of death for Black and Latino men in this age group. In 1989, 27 percent of the deaths of Black males were from homicide and 25 percent from AIDS. Among Latinos, 33 percent died from AIDS and 25 percent from homicide. AIDS accounted

for 39 percent of all deaths among White males; the second leading cause of death was homicide.

Ages 35-44

AIDS is the leading cause of death for all males in New York City between the ages of 35-44. This disease accounted for 32 percent of the deaths of Black males, 36 percent of those for Latinos, and 37 percent of deaths for White males.

Ages 45 and above

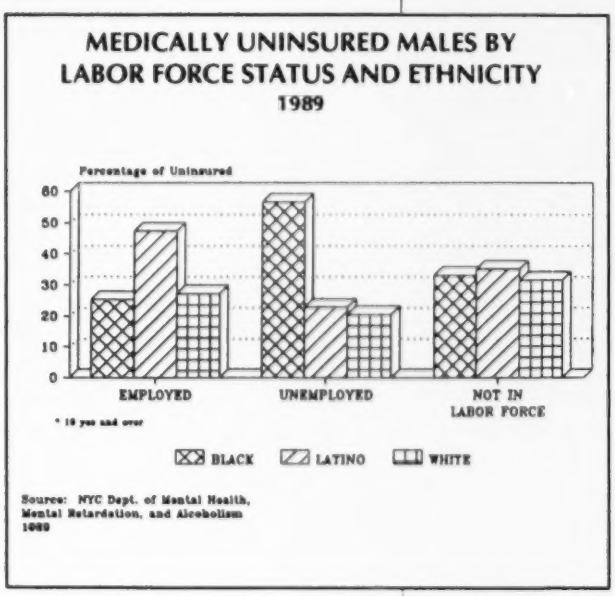
The leading causes of death among Black, Latino, and White males in this age group are heart disease, malignant neoplasms, and AIDS. These three causes accounted for half of all deaths of Black males, 54 percent of the deaths of Latino males, and 62 percent of White males.

In the age group above 55 years of age, the causes of death among the three groups were similar. Heart disease and malignant neoplasms cause the majority of deaths.

Health Insurance

Black and Latino men have limited health insurance, and a high proportion of Black men receive disability payments from Social Security at a young age.

Figure 10



Estimates for 1990 reveal that nearly one in three (31 percent) Latino males and almost one-fourth (23.6 percent) of Black males were medically uninsured. Black and Latino men constituted over two-thirds of all males in the city without health insurance. Only 11 percent of White males lacked health insurance.

Lack of access to basic health care and medical insurance were topics of discussion in the focus groups. Very few participants had private health insurance, most often because their parents did not have any. Most rarely visited primary care physicians and usually received medical care through the emergency rooms of hospitals.

Social Security Disability payments help bridge an

important gap for Black men (data are not available for Latino men), many of whom were disabled in hazardous jobs or are disabled children of parents who lack access to adequate health care. There are two types of Social Security Disability payments. Title II is an entitlement insurance program in which a person has to have worked for a certain length of time to receive benefits. Benefits for Title II are paid out of taxes kept in trust. Title XVI is an assistance program paid out of general revenue.

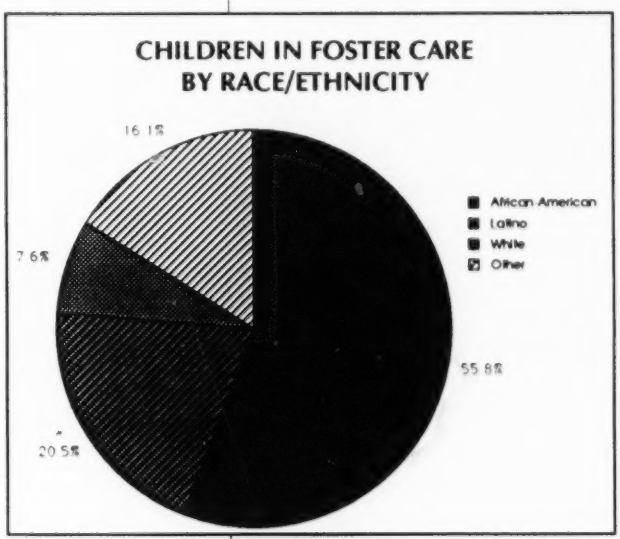
The highest proportion of Black men are in the assistance program, Title XVI, while the highest proportion of White males were in Title II. In 1990, 64 percent of all Black men were in Title XVI programs compared to 44 percent of White males. Black males in both programs are much younger than White males. Sixteen percent of all Black males in the Title II assistance were under 20 years of age, while only seven percent of White males were. In the Title II programs, 41 percent of Black males were under 40 years of age compared to only 29 percent of White males. This differential reflects the general tendency of Black males to work in more hazardous jobs.

Social Services

The social services system is another area that reflects the problems of Black and Latino males. Under the auspices of social services, the child welfare system provides services to children when parents are unable to take the responsibility. Designed to safeguard children from abuse and neglect, the child welfare system has witnessed a burgeoning population due to the increasing incidence of poverty, drug abuse and AIDS.

The number of children in the child welfare system actually declined in the early 1980s. However, in New York City, as well as across the country, foster care placements have soared over the past five years. In fiscal year 1985, there were 16,787 children in foster care in New York City; by the end of fiscal year 1990, the number had skyrocketed to 50,311 - *an almost 200 percent increase.*

Figure 11



Source: Failed Promises, *Report of the Manhattan Borough President's Advisory Council on Child Welfare, July 1989*

Black and Latino children constitute a disproportionate

number of the New York City foster care population. According to 1980 census data, Black and Latino children 19 years of age and younger comprise 59 percent of all children in New York City. However, estimates by the Manhattan Borough President's Advisory Council on Child Welfare place the percentage of Blacks and Latinos in foster care at 92 percent.

More than half (52 percent) of the Black and Latino children in the foster care system are male. A 1987 Community Service Society report estimates that a Black male has a 33 out of 1,000 chance of entering foster care once in his lifetime, while a White male has a four out of 1,000 chance. Black and Latino children in New York City are also more likely to re-enter foster care once they have had at least one placement. A 1989 study produced by the State Department of Social Services found that 70 percent of all children who experienced a second placement by 1987 after entering care in 1984 were Black and Latino. Pre-adolescent Black and Latino males re-enter the foster care system at an alarming rate. Approximately two out of five Black males who had their first placement between the ages of 10-12, returned to the foster care system, while one-half of Latino males in this age cohort re-entered the system.

Another problem facing Black and Latino males in the New York City foster care system is their tendency to be labeled by child welfare professionals as having "behavior problems." In a 1990 study of 141 foster children with unstable placement histories, the overwhelming majority of males were described as having a behavior problem. Nonetheless, there was little evidence to substantiate that claim. Of the 69 Black and Latino males in the study, 17 percent were classified as "verbally and physically abusive." For the majority of children labeled as a behavior problem, there was no qualitative data on their behavior patterns at all.

Black and Latino adolescent males in foster care are also more likely to come in contact with the juvenile justice system. An analysis of adolescents with "overnight" placements shows that between February 1989 and February 1990, 142 adolescents were arrested. Most of those youth were males (72 percent) and the majority were Black and Latino (94 percent). The study reveals that on average, most of the Black and Latino males were arrested twice during this time period. In addition, the study maintains that most arrests occurred immediately after a child was reported to have run away from a child welfare agency.

Data from the New York State Department of Social

Services show that the majority of children who are separated from their families (85 percent) are placed in foster boarding homes and with approved relatives; experts report that boys are more likely to be placed in group homes and institutions than females, about 10 percent are placed in group care facilities. Anecdotal information from child welfare agencies in the voluntary sector reveals that placement of Black and Latino boys in family care is the most difficult.

While the majority of children in foster care are Black and Latino and are concentrated in a few neighborhoods, the majority of care is not provided by community-based agencies. Although 92 percent of the children in foster care are minorities, only about 8 percent of the children in foster care are served by minority operated agencies.

Many advocates for the homeless and administrators of correctional facilities believe that a large proportion of their service population has spent some time in foster care. Even more indicting is the large number that "graduate" from foster care into homeless shelters and prisons. While the exact data remains elusive, foster care statistics reveal some troubling trends in this direction.

Homelessness

Black males also constitute the major share of the homeless population in New York City. The number of homeless men on the streets is difficult to gauge. According to surveys, 71 percent of those staying in shelters for single homeless men in 1990 were Black, 18 percent were Latino, and 11 percent were White. Most men in the single shelters are young and unmarried. Surveys show that 33 percent are under 30 years of age. They are not poorly educated; approximately one-third of the shelter population in 1985 had completed high school and five percent had completed college and graduate school. Over half of the shelter population had worked in the previous year, usually at low-paying service and laborer jobs.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

The authorities in New York executed eighteen slave rebels in 1712: They manacled one and starved him to death, broke another on the wheel, and burned three others at the stake. Six of the condemned committed suicide.

Eugene Genovese, 1981.

An introduction to the racial brutality of the present century was provided by the 1900 "riot" occurring in the City of New York. This event was a confrontation between the Black population of the nation's greatest and most cosmopolitan city on one side and the official representatives of law and order on the other. New York streets were the setting for acts of terror against Blacks, and in the aftermath of mob violence the point was driven home that public authority would not discipline those responsible.

Herbert Shapiro, 1988

What else is this [crime] but the logical result of bad homes, poor health, restricted opportunities for work and general social oppression?...We have but to change conditions, then, to reduce Negro crime.

W. E. B. DuBois 1901

Most minority persons will be wary of a system in which over 80 percent of the people sentenced to New York's prisons are minorities, while more than 92 percent of the judges statewide are Whites.

New York State Judicial Commission on Minorities, 1989.

Perhaps no subject divides reasonable people more than discussions about race, ethnicity, and the criminal justice system; and there is probably no city where the discussion has had a longer and more volatile history than New York. The complexities of the process of arrests, sentencing and incarceration in New York City have been exacerbated by police violence against Blacks and Latinos and a profound distrust by both groups of the criminal justice system.

In New York, as in most slave holding states before the Emancipation Proclamation, extensive codes were passed to minimize Black gatherings. The most common actions, such as gatherings, were often classified as misdemeanors. By the

1800s, New York was one of the leaders in the North in the incarceration of Black men.

Racial tensions, together with ethnic and class tensions among Whites were a primary reason for the establishment of a full-time paid police force in New York as well as other major northern cities in the early 1800s. Many of these forces were created in direct response to repeated riots and outbreaks of violence between Blacks and Whites.

The 1800s saw a growing concern by Blacks over their treatment by the criminal justice system. Observers of the period, such as Mary Ovington (1911) and W.E.B. DuBois, commented on the disproportionate incidence of arrests and incarceration of Black men in the early- and mid-1800s. Although DuBois distrusted arrest records, he noted ruefully that for every 10,000 Blacks in the state in 1890, 100 were in prison. (DuBois, 1978) Like Ovington, Dubois believed that the proportion of men engaged in crime was directly related to joblessness. He also believed that the willingness of the police to allow crime to flourish in Black communities had an especially dangerous effect on the fiber of community life.

The early 1900s did not bring a respite to the travails of Blacks caught up in the criminal justice system. Blacks, and now increasingly Latinos, charged the police with brutality. E. Franklin Frazier's report on the 1935 riot in Harlem provides extensive documentation of police brutality. At the same time, DuBois' (1978) earlier concern about the effects of crime on the community were echoed among community leaders. World War II brought additional flare-ups of police and racial tensions with the riot of 1943.

However, it was not until the 1960s that arguments about the criminal justice system took their most pronounced shape. The riots of the 1960s were an explosion of anger about inadequate economic opportunities in the Black and Latino community. The demand for a police civilian review board in the 1960s was a demand for more control over law enforcement agencies. The defeat of that measure was a testimony to the wide differences that continued to exist between the police, the White community and Blacks and Latinos.

The late 1960s and early 1970s brought another and even more devastating scourge to Black and Latino communities: drugs. The availability of drugs, combined with a downturn in the economy and the reduction of federal funds for community development, weakened the ability of

communities to deal with crime. Beginning in the 1970s, the incarceration of Black and Latino men increased dramatically in New York City jails and New York State prisons.

Arrest Rates

Arrest figures can be seen as a barometer of relations between Blacks, Latinos, and the police as well as a broad gauge of crime. In 1990, 128,024 Black, 85,555 Latino, and 35,089 White males in New York City were arrested. Arrests for all groups increased between 1980 and 1990, but the increase in Latino and Black arrests is significantly higher. Arrests of Latino males increased by 146 percent, of Black males by 95 percent, and of White males by 36 percent.

The leading causes of arrest during the 1980s were drug sales and drug possession. Between 1980-90, arrests of Black males for drug sales increased by 320 percent, of Latino males by 697 percent and of White males by 54 percent. Arrests for drug possession increased for Black males by 229 percent, by 371 percent for Latino males, and by 225 percent among White males.

By 1990, the two leading causes of arrest for Black males were drug possession and larceny; for Latino males, drug sales and drug possession; for White males, drug possession and assault.

One of the most telling indictments on the criminal justice system emanating from the focus group discussions was the youths' perceptions of the police as a source of danger rather than a source of protection. The sense of mistrust that young males felt for police was common across all focus groups. They often felt targeted by law enforcement officers.

Incarceration Rates

Between 1960-90, the New York State male prison population grew by 188 percent. Black males accounted for 55 percent of the increase and Latino males 44 percent. In 1960, Black men were 41 percent of the State prison population, White men 48 percent and Latino men 10 percent. By 1990, the number of Latino men had increased by 813 percent, and they were nearly one-third (32 percent) of the inmate population; the number of Black men in prisons increased by 254 percent and they comprised 51 percent of the inmates. The

number of White men behind bars increased 16 percent and they made up 17 percent of the total inmate population. (See figures 12 and 13)

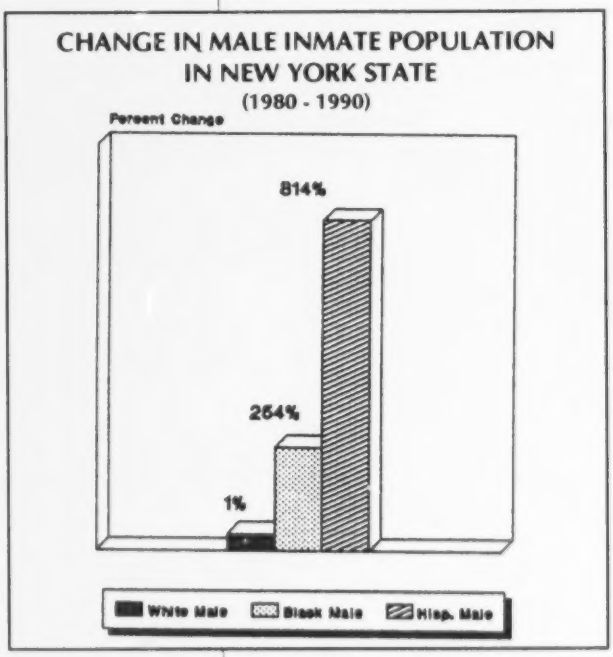
In recent years the city's Black and Latino inmate population has been growing rapidly. Between 1987-91, the number of Latino males in city facilities grew by 45 percent and Black males by 39 percent. The number of White males in city jails declined by six percent. By 1991, Black men constituted 57 percent of the inmates in New York City's correctional facilities, Latino men 36 percent, and White males six percent.

Ninety-two percent of the male inmates in New York State prisons from New York City are Black and Latino. In 1990, there were 18,777 Black and 14,716 Latino males from New York City in State prisons, but only 2,626 White males. Nearly three-fourths (72 percent) of all Black male inmates in New York State prisons are from New York City, as are 88 percent of incarcerated Latino males. By contrast, only 30 percent of the White inmates were from the City.

As a result of the high rate of incarceration, for every 100,000 Black males aged 16 and over in New York City, 3,123 were in prison in 1990. For every 100,000 Latino males, 2,720 suffered the same fate. By contrast, the rate of incarceration for White males was 218 per 100,000. Black men were 14 times more likely to be in prison than White males, and Latino men were 12 times as likely.

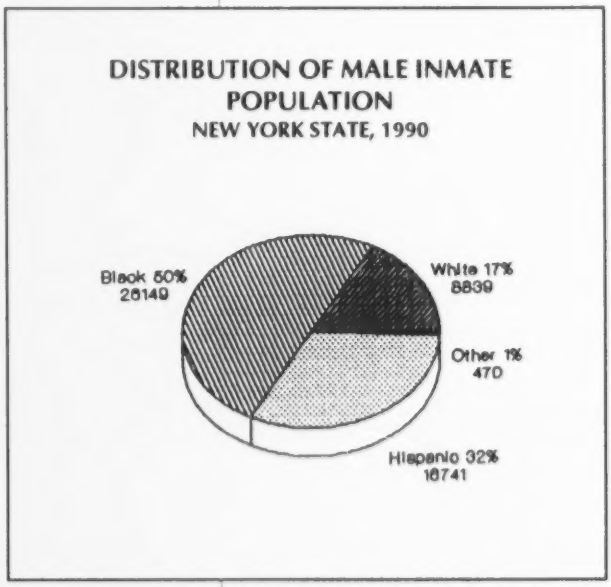
These alarming incarceration rates are also seen in secure juvenile detention facilities. In 1990, Black males constituted 67 percent, Latino men 30 percent, and White males three percent of the youth in these facilities. Between 1985 and 1990 the number of Black youth in secure detention facilities increased by 80 percent and Latinos by 59 percent; the number of White youth declined by eight percent.

Figure 12



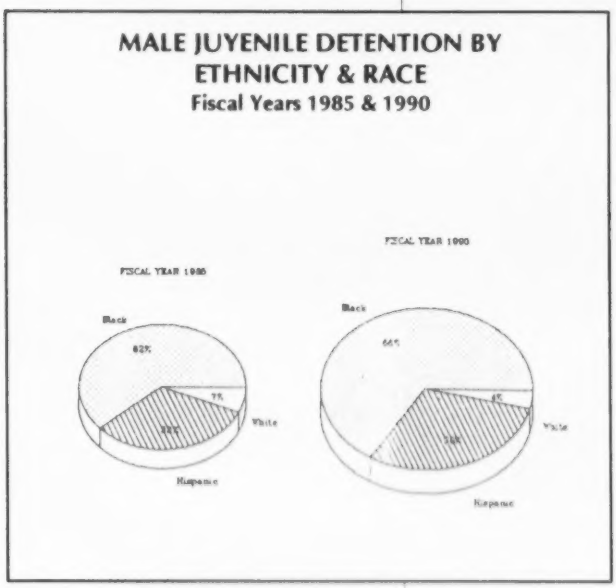
Source: *New York State Department of Correctional Services*

Figure 13



Source: *New York State Department of Correctional Services*

Figure 14



Source: *New York State Department of Juvenile Justice*

Reasons for Incarceration

The predominant reasons for the incarceration of men from all three groups are drug offenses and robbery. There are, however, significant differences in the proportions incarcerated for each crime. While nearly half (48 percent) of all Latino men are incarcerated in State prisons for drug offenses and 11 percent for first degree robbery, only 27 percent of the Black males and 15 percent of the White males are incarcerated for drug offenses. First and second degree robbery account for 28 percent of Black male incarceration and first degree robbery and murder accounted for 27 percent of the White male incarceration.

The patterns in the city jails are similar to those in the State prisons. Over half (53 percent) of the Latino males and half of the Blacks incarcerated in New York City were jailed for sale or possession of drugs or robbery; 36 percent of the White males were incarcerated for these charges. Proportionately, White males are much more likely to be in jail for misdemeanors.

Characteristics of the Inmate Population

Most state prison inmates from New York City are in their late twenties and early thirties. In 1990 the average age of incarcerated Black males was 31, Latino men 32, and White males 35.

Incarcerated White men from the city are slightly better educated on average than Black and Latino inmates. In 1990, Black and White men on average had completed 10 years of schooling, compared to 9.2 for Latino men. Fifty percent of all White male inmates from New York City had completed high school, some college, or technical school, compared to 33 percent of Black males and 24 percent of the Latino males.

Reading and math scores reveal that most male inmates, irrespective of race and ethnicity, read below the 12th grade level. The median combined reading score for White males was the tenth grade, for Black men the eighth grade, for Latino men the seventh grade. Thirty-eight percent of all White males read at or above the twelfth

grade level, but only 17 percent of the Black men and nine percent of Latino men read at that level. The median combined math score for all groups was the sixth grade.

FAMILY

. . . there is a distressing symmetry between male joblessness and female headed-housheolds among Blacks and Hispanics: The rise in the proportion of Black and Hispanic males either unemployed or not in the labor force has consistently been matched by the rise in the proportion of non-White families headed by women.

Commission on the Year 2000, 1987

The role of Black and Latino men in the family is one of the most poorly understood areas of social welfare and public policy. Although there are many assumptions about how Black and Latino men deal with their children and wives, the reality is that most studies on their families minimize their role or exclude them from consideration. A common assumption is that Black men, especially lower-income Black men, are often negligent in their responsibilities to their families. Such assumptions have, in the few studies that examined the role of Black men in families, been shown to be wrong and ill-founded. However, few policy makers or analysts have made the effort to review the evidence.

The poor understanding of Black and Latino men and their relationships to families is especially noticeable in New York City. Although in 1980 New York City had the largest number of Black families in the United States, these families have been largely neglected by agencies and analysts influencing family policy. For example, not one study was produced on the Black family using the 1980 census. The last systematic analysis of the Black family in New York City was undertaken by E. F. Frazier in 1936. Studies of the Latino family have been more extensive. The New York City Planning Commission produced *The Puerto Rican New Yorkers*, (1982) which analyzed the 1980 census data. However, even these studies did not place a heavy emphasis on the role of men in the family.

The dearth of studies on Black and Latino men and families has not limited speculation by social analysts. Much of the speculation has been spurred by the growth of single-parent headed households, principally those of Black and Puerto Rican women. Black children living with one parent increased from 41 percent to 51 percent between 1970 and 1980. Latino children living with one parent increased from 32 percent to 45 percent. This speculation has been a major source of irritation to many Black and Latino policy makers and policy analysts, who argue that Black and Latino culture

is often minimized and stereotypes about men cloud the perceptions of their role in the family.

The debate about the framework for analyzing Black and Latino families and the role of men is not new. Prior to the 1970s, most social analysts writing about the Black family argued that the Blacks did not have a culture or family structure, except one that was an adaptation of White society. Social analysts also argued that Black families were so disorganized after slavery that they could not adapt to the social and economic rigors of urban life, and that Black men were largely incapable of assuming a leadership role in the family similar to the one assumed by White men. Their lack of leadership, according to the analysts, led to a matriarchal family structure, with a variety of attendant negative social consequences for their children. These views about Black men gained greater legitimacy as the number of households headed by women grew following the great migration in World War II.

Herbert Gutman (1976) characterized the theories of social disorganization of the Black family as "retrogressionist". He argued that the theories were used to justify a policy of repression and neglect of Black political and economic interests by attributing Black problems to "pathological" behavior of families rather than their exclusion from jobs. Some early studies of Puerto Ricans made similar arguments. However, systematic analyses of Puerto Rican families in New York City - first by Senior, Mills, Padilla, and Fitzpatrick, and later by the Hispanic Research Center at Fordham University, the Center for Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College, and Rodriguez - have placed Latin culture at the center of the family and defined the male role in this context.

While many of the harsher portrayals of the Black family have disappeared from the literature, the focus on social disorganization as a way of viewing the Black family has not completely faded from the picture. Most recently, the concepts of the urban underclass incorporated many of the ideas from the earlier theories of social disorganization. The underclass concepts were particularly popular among analysts and journalists in New York City, and they are reflected in several documents on New York City, most notably *New York Ascendent*. (1987) However, in close examinations of the concepts and data on the underclass, researchers have found that the concept does not explain the problems of poor families and that the number of people who could be classified in the underclass was small and declining.

The reality is that the roles and relationships of men in families change based on historical and cultural contexts, economics, demographic factors, and strategies of adaptation. The historical context is especially important. In New York City, the long-term barring of Black and Latino men from steady, good-paying jobs has been a dominant consideration in the relationship of men to their families. The exclusion of Black males from steady employment has been much longer than for any group in New York City and much longer than for most Black males in other northern cities. Although Black settlements in New York City are among the oldest in the north, Black men have lacked the job access that Black men had in other northern and midwestern cities.

Still, the lack of access to jobs is not the single explanation for changes in Black families. Historians and observers of the late 1800s and early 1900s noted that the "traditional" Black family was not retarded by movement out of slavery or the barriers to jobs in New York. Both DuBois and Ovington commented on the ability of Blacks in the 1800s and early 1900s to maintain strong family units despite the economic stresses on Black men. Gutman found that Black males were an integral part of the husband-wife teams in New York City following slavery and throughout the 1920s.

Puerto Rican settlements in New York City developed much later than those of Blacks. Puerto Rican men were limited in their access to jobs and migration weakened many of the traditional roles of men in the family. However, many of the stronger elements of the Puerto Rican family were maintained through the constant reinforcement of cultural ties with Puerto Rico and through the Catholic church. Each of these forces has been documented by researchers in the City.

Another perspective that affects the development and shaping of Black and Latino families is the ratio of women to men in both communities. There were more Black female slaves and free persons in the census of 1805 than Black men, and this imbalance would continue in the next century. At first this was due to a tendency of slave owners to free women first, and the unusually high mortality rates among Black males. Later the imbalance would be due in part to the ability of Black women to obtain jobs. The high ratio of Black women to men in New York City was underlined by W. E.B. DuBois in 1901 as one of the

peculiaralities of New York City. Gutman's observations about Black families in 1905 and 1910 also stress the disproportionate ratios of Black women to men and the joblessness of Black men as one of the reasons for the growth of female-headed households. Senor noted that in the early development of the Puerto Rican community in New York City, there was a higher ratio of women to men. Puerto Rican women often found jobs in low-wage manufacturing even when men had limited access to jobs. Although there have also been more White women than White men among White immigrant groups, the disparities were not as great as for Black and Puerto Ricans, nor was the lack of access of jobs for men as severe.

Family Structure and Marital Status

As noted, careful examinations and comparions of Black, Latino and White families and the role of males in families have not been developed for New York City. However, the census data for 1980 provide a framework for the examination of the 1990 census data.

The data show that of the three groups, Blacks in New York City had the highest proportion of male children under six years of age who were living with relatives other than their parents and nonrelatives. In 1980, 22 percent of all Black boys under six years of age lived with relatives and nonrelatives, compared to 10 percent of Latino males and four percent of White males.

The census also showed great variability in the marital status of Black, Latino and White men. Undoubtedly, cultural and economic differences are a major reason for the variations, as are the disproportionate number of Black and Latino women to men.

The data for New York City showed that Black men had the highest proportion of single men of the three groups. Among Black men aged 20-34, 60 percent were single and never married, compared to 47 percent of Puerto Ricans and 59 percent of Whites. The data also showed that while a high proportion of Black men were single, only a small proportion lived alone. Sixty percent of all Black males aged 20-24 were living at home, as were 25 percent of those 25-29 years of age. A similar pattern is found among White males, but not Latino males. Among White males

aged 20-24, 58 percent lived as a child of the householder, as did 22 percent of those aged 25-29. Among Latino men, 48 percent of those aged 20-24 and 19 percent of those aged 25-29 lived as a child of the householder.

The 1980 data revealed that Puerto Rican men were more likely to be married than those in the other groups. In the 20-34 age group, 43 percent of all Puerto Rican men were married, as were 66 percent of those aged 35-59. Among White men, 36 percent between the ages of 20-34 were married, as were 69 percent of those aged 35-59. Among Black men, 31 percent of those aged 20-34 and 59 percent of those aged 35-59 were married.

Ratios of Men to Women

W. E.B. DuBois' observations about the disproportionate number of Black women to men still remains a problem in the city. In 1970, there were 104,000 more Black women 16 and over than Black men; 48,000 more Puerto Rican women aged 16 and over than men; and 10,000 more White women than White men. In 1980, among Latinos aged 15 and over, there were 100,916 more women than men, and there were 184,545 more Black women than men.

CONCLUSION

The United States has never before had a large migration of citizens from offshore, distinct in culture and language and also facing the problem of color prejudice... contrary to conventional wisdom that once Puerto Ricans learned the language the second generation would move into the mainstream of American society, the future of this distinct community in the United States is still to be determined...the future health of the city [New York] is inextricably bound to the development of the mainland Puerto Rican community.

United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1976.

The fact that Puerto Ricans as a group are worse off precisely in those places where they have been longest draws attention to the recurrent character of the processes reconstituting their disadvantaged condition in old and new settings.

Frank Bonilla, 1986

From the earliest settlement of Manhattan when the Dutch West India Company was pledging itself to furnish the new settlers with plenty of negroes, down to 1900 when the greater City contained 60,000 Black folk, New York has had a Negro problem.

W. E. B. DuBois, 1978

New York City has been the setting for many contrasting views of Black and Latino men. At one point in its history it was seen by many as a mecca offering freedom from the brutalities of the South or the limited economic opportunities of Puerto Rico. However, as in any city, harsh realities underlie these images. In 1911, Mary White Ovington wrote *Half A Man,* in which she described a young Black man from one of the Gulf States who had recently returned from Europe where he studied. The young man informed her that his father had sent him to the north to escape the rigidities of southern segregation but that at best he found that he could only be "half a man" in his new environment. Ovington observed that while New York in some ways gave full recognition to the manhood of Blacks, its race prejudice arrests their development.

At the center of the problems for Black and Latino

men is their exclusion from jobs and the failure of City officials to attempt to do anything about it. Long periods of unemployment, low wages and lack of access to a range of jobs and industries continue to limit the economic horizons of Black and Latino men.

Limited access to good jobs influences the relationship of Black and Latino men to almost every other institution in the city. Because they are most likely to work in industries or jobs that do not provide health insurance, they are especially susceptible to health crises. They are also more likely to become homeless, and none of the governmental agencies on the federal, state or local levels provide extensive benefits to men in need of welfare. Limited access to welfare benefits further strains already overburdened families. During the 1980s, Black and Latino families were under increasing pressure because of a severe housing shortage. As adaptive as Black and Latino families have been to economic crises, the 1980s overwhelmed them. There is little doubt that the economic pressures of the 1980s forced many young Black and Latino males into foster care, where they constitute the largest group.

Both the State's and City's policies have largely ignored Black and Latino male poverty and emphasized social control through arrests and incarceration. One of the more alarming statistics in the study indicate that in 1990 there were over 18,000 Black men and nearly 15 percent Latino men in New York State prisons from New York City but only 2,626 White men. For every 100,000 Black males 16 and over in New York City, 3,123 were in prison; for every 100,000 Latino males, 2,270 were in prison. For White males, only 88 of every 100,000 were in prison.

In 1859, Frederick Douglass was willing to drop almost all other political demands in order for New York's Black children to get a quality education. Almost reflexively, reports of this type end with a call for better education. But calls for quality education for Black and Latino youth are not enough. After 130 years of pleading with the educational institutions in the city for a decent education for Black youth and nearly 75 years of lobbying by Latinos, it is clear that nothing less than a major examination and revamping of approaches to educating Black and Latino males is required. Rather than educating and training Black and Latino males, the New York City schools have been separating them from the mainstream student body in special education or pushing them out. There is no doubt that in part the problems of Black and Latino males in the public

schools stem from the absence of Black and Latino males as teachers and counselors. Together, Black and Latino male teachers are less than 10 percent of all teachers. They are also poorly represented among counselors and principals.

The neglected crisis of Black and Latino males requires drastic action. The racially motivated violence against Black and Latino men in the 1980s gained the city international attention. The unwillingness of State and City officials to address the violence and the more covert biases of economic and social institutions toward Blacks and Latinos is a cause for alarm that no one should ignore. Black and Latino men form a major segment of the new majority of Asians, Blacks and Latinos. The commonly referred to "dual city" of the rich and poor and people of color and Whites, really does not capture the problems that face the men or the frightening future that we all face.

The perception of New Yorkers about Black and Latino men has for too long been shaped by social stereotypes and limited analyses of their problems. This vision has made all of us prisoners of the past and left too many policy makers uncertain about how to deal with the future. The future depends on leaders who will devise ways to address the institutional barriers limiting opportunities for Black and Latino men and their families.

APPENDIX

Table 1

Causes of Death for Males Under Age 1: 1989

Cause of Death	Grand Total		Total Males		Black Males		Latino Males		White Males	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Grand Total	1827	100.0%	1015	100.0%	421	100.0%	202	100.0%	390	100.0%
Congenital Anomalies	292	16.0%	159	15.7%	39	9.3%	35	17.3%	85	21.8%
Short Gestation/LBW	211	11.5%	116	11.4%	54	12.8%	20	9.9%	33	8.5%
Respiratory Distress Syndrome	181	9.9%	99	9.8%	41	9.7%	16	7.9%	34	8.7%
Sudden Infant Death Syndrome	143	7.8%	90	8.9%	49	11.6%	26	12.9%	36	9.2%
Respiratory Condition of Newborn	137	7.5%	75	7.4%	31	7.4%	16	7.9%	27	6.9%
Perinatal Disorder of Digestive System	39	2.1%	22	2.2%	10	2.4%	5	2.5%	7	1.8%
Asphyxia	36	2.0%	18	1.8%	6	1.4%	4	2.0%	9	2.3%
AIDS	34	1.9%	18	1.8%	6	1.4%	10	5.0%	11	2.8%
Maternal Condition Unrelated to Pregnancy	29	1.6%	10	1.0%	6	1.4%	3	1.5%	4	1.0%
Accidents	24	1.3%	15	1.5%	8	1.9%	3	1.5%	6	1.5%
Pneumonia & Influenza	24	1.3%	12	1.2%	5	1.2%	1	0.5%	4	1.0%
Neonatal Hemorrhage	23	1.3%	14	1.4%	8	1.9%	2	1.0%	3	0.8%
Heart Disease[1]	15	0.8%	9	0.9%	4	1.0%	1	0.5%	4	1.0%
Other Infective & Parasitic Diseases [2]	9	0.5%	5	0.5%	4	1.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.3%
Septicemia [3]	12	0.7%	6	0.6%	2	0.5%	2	1.0%	4	1.0%
Homicide [4]	16	0.9%	6	0.6%	3	0.7%	1	0.5%	3	0.8%
Maternal Complications of Pregnancy [5]	15	0.8%	10	1.0%	3	0.7%	1	0.5%	2	0.5%
Total	1240	67.9%	684	67.4%	279	66.3%	146	72.3%	273	70.0%

[1] Heart Disease ranks thirteenth among the overall male specific causes of death, but ranks ninth among the specific causes of death for Black and White males.

[2] Other Infective and Parasitic Diseases rank sixteenth among the overall male specific causes od death, but rank ninth among the specific causes of death for Black males.

[3] Septicemia ranks fourteenth among the overall male specific causes of death, but ranks ninth among the specific causes of death for White males and tenth for Black and Latino males.

[4] Homicide ranks eleventh among the overall male specific causes of death, but ranks tenth among the specific causes of death for Black and White males.

[5] Maternal Complications of Pregnancy rank twelfth among the overall male specific causes of death, but rank tenth among the specific causes of death for Black males.

Source: *NYC Department of Labor*

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TABLE 2

Causes of Death for Males Ages 1 - 14: 1989

Cause of Death	Grand Total		Total Males		Black Males		Latino Males		White Males	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Grand Total	491	100.0%	287	100.0%	124	100.0%	80	100.0%	147	100.0%
Accidents	112	22.8%	72	25.1%	34	27.4%	19	23.8%	35	23.8%
Congenital Anomalies	50	10.2%	24	8.4%	7	5.6%	8	10.0%	17	11.6%
Malignant Neoplasms	47	9.6%	25	8.7%	14	11.3%	4	5.0%	15	10.2%
AIDS	46	9.4%	28	9.8%	15	12.1%	8	10.0%	13	8.8%
Homicide	39	7.9%	18	6.3%	13	10.5%	5	6.3%	5	3.4%
Diseases of Nervous System	32	6.5%	22	7.7%	2	1.6%	10	12.5%	18	12.2%
Heart Diseases	27	5.5%	15	5.2%	4	3.2%	6	7.5%	10	6.8%
Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease	10	2.0%	7	2.4%	4	3.2%	2	2.5%	3	2.0%
Pneumonia & Influenza	9	1.8%	6	2.1%	5	4.0%		0.0%	1	0.7%
Other Infective & Parasitic Diseases	7	1.4%	5	1.7%	1	0.8%	1	1.3%	3	2.0%
Injury Undetermined	7	1.4%	5	1.7%	2	1.6%	3	3.8%	3	2.0%
Other HIV [1]	6	1.2%	4	1.4%	3	2.4%	1	1.3%	1	0.7%
Septicemia [2]	5	1.0%	4	1.4%	2	1.6%	1	1.3%	1	0.7%
Cerebrovascular Disease [3]	5	1.0%	3	1.0%	2	1.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Benign & Unspecified Neoplasms [4]	6	1.2%	5	1.7%	1	0.8%	0	0.0%	4	2.7%
Total	408	83.1%	243	84.7%	109	87.9%	68	85.0%	129	87.8%

[1] Other HIV ranks eleventh among the overall specific causes of death, but ranks eighth among the specific causes of death for Black and tenth for Latino males.

[2] Septicemia ranks thirteenth among the overall specific causes of death, but ranks ninth among the specific causes of death for Black males and tenth for Latino males.

[3] Cerebrovascular Disease ranks fourteenth among the overall male specific causes of death, but ranks ninth among the specific causes of death for Black males.

[4] Benign and Unspecified Neoplasms rank twelfth among the overall male specific causes of death, but ranks eighth among the specific causes of death for White males.

Source: *NYC Department of Health*

TABLE 3

Causes of Death for Males Ages 15 - 24: 1989

Cause of Death	Grand Total		Total Males		Black Males		Latino Males		White Males	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Grand Total	1418	100.0%	1080	100.0%	513	100.0%	377	100.0%	528	100.0%
Homicide	635	44.8%	571	52.9%	340	66.3%	192	50.9%	211	40.0%
Accidents	206	14.5%	156	14.4%	57	11.1%	58	15.4%	96	18.2%
Malignant Neoplasms	100	7.1%	57	5.3%	14	2.7%	13	3.4%	39	7.4%
AIDS	91	6.4%	57	5.3%	23	4.5%	27	7.2%	31	5.9%
Suicide	89	6.3%	73	6.8%	16	3.1%	26	6.9%	51	9.7%
Heart Diseases	40	2.8%	23	2.1%	10	1.9%	10	2.7%	13	2.5%
Drug Dependence	28	2.0%	22	2.0%	2	0.4%	12	3.2%	20	3.8%
Diseases of Nervous System	27	1.9%	10	0.9%	8	1.6%	7	1.9%	9	1.7%
Congenital Anomalies	14	1.0%	9	0.8%	1	0.2%	2	0.5%	8	1.5%
Pneumonia & Influenza	13	0.9%	8	0.7%	4	0.8%	219	58.1%	3	0.6%
Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease [1]	12	0.8%	9	0.8%	3	0.6%	3	0.8%	4	0.8%
Injury Undetermined [2]	12	0.8%	9	0.8%	2	0.4%	4	1.1%	5	0.9%
Cerebrovascular Disease [3]	11	0.8%	5	0.5%	3	0.6%	1	0.3%	1	0.2%
Nephritis & Nephrosis [4]	6	0.4%	4	0.4%	3	0.6%	1	0.3%	1	0.2%
Total	1284	90.6%	1013	93.8%	486	94.7%	575	152.5%	492	93.2%

[1] Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease ranks eleventh among the overall specific causes of death, but ranks tenth among the specific causes of death for Black and Latino males.

[2] Injury Undetermined ranks twelfth among the overall specific causes of death, but ranks ninth among the specific causes of death for Latino males and tenth for White males.

[3] Cerebrovascular Disease ranks twelfth among the overall male specific causes of death, but ranks ninth among the specific causes of death for Black males.

[4] Nephritis and Nephrosis rankfifteenth among the overall male specific causes of death, but ranks tenth among the specific causes of death for Black males.

Source: *NYC Department of Health*

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TABLE 4

Causes of Death for Males Ages 25 - 34: 1989

Cause of Death	Grand Total		Total Males		Black Males		Latino Males		White Males	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Grand Total	4180	100.0%	3052	100.0%	1193	100.0%	969	100.0%	1703	100.0%
AIDS	1257	30.1%	963	31.6%	289	24.2%	320	33.0%	614	36.1%
Homicide	707	16.9%	615	20.2%	331	27.7%	237	24.5%	264	15.5%
Accidents	431	10.3%	361	11.8%	130	10.9%	94	9.7%	217	12.7%
Malignant Neoplasms	228	5.5%	111	3.6%	23	1.9%	24	2.5%	76	4.5%
Drug Dependence	195	4.7%	138	4.5%	55	4.6%	43	4.4%	81	4.8%
Heart Diseases	184	4.4%	113	3.7%	39	3.3%	41	4.2%	69	4.1%
Suicide	152	3.6%	116	3.8%	37	3.1%	39	4.0%	72	4.2%
Pneumonia & Influenza	119	2.8%	73	2.4%	34	2.8%	20	2.1%	33	1.9%
Chronic Liver Disease & Chirrhosis	55	1.3%	42	1.4%	15	1.3%	17	1.8%	26	1.5%
Tuberculosis	52	1.2%	37	1.2%	24	2.0%	10	1.0%	12	0.7%
Injury Undetermined [1]	51	1.2%	44	1.4%	18	1.5%	12	1.2%	24	1.4%
Other Infective & Parasitic Diseases [2]	50	1.2%	36	1.2%	18	1.5%	6	0.6%	15	0.9%
Total	3481	83.3%	2649	86.8%	1013	84.9%	863	89.1%	1503	88.3%

[1] Injury Undetermined ranks eleventh among the overall specific causes of death, but ranks tenth among the specific causes of death for Latino and White males.

[2] Other Infective & Parasitic Diseases ranks thirteenth among the overall specific causes of death, but ranks tenth among the specific causes of death among Black males.

Source: *NYC Department of Health*

TABLE 5

Causes of Death for Males Ages 35 - 44: 1989

Cause of Death	Grand Total		Total Males		Black Males		Latino Males		White Males	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Grand Total	5809	100.0%	4315	100.0%	1657	100.0%	1102	100.0%	2386	100.0%
AIDS	1178	20.3%	1517	35.2%	531	32.0%	397	36.0%	885	37.1%
Malignant Neoplasms	623	10.7%	286	6.6%	79	4.8%	50	4.5%	177	7.4%
Heart Diseases	573	9.9%	408	9.5%	155	9.4%	74	6.7%	229	9.6%
Accidents	333	5.7%	271	6.3%	108	6.5%	71	6.4%	150	6.3%
Homicide	284	4.9%	271	6.3%	107	6.5%	97	8.8%	123	5.2%
Drug Dependence	281	4.8%	217	5.0%	104	6.3%	59	5.4%	110	4.6%
Chronic Liver Disease & Chirrhosis	241	4.1%	103	2.4%	57	3.4%	72	6.5%	123	5.2%
Pneumonia & Influenza	204	3.5%	151	3.5%	85	5.1%	28	2.5%	56	2.3%
Suicide	165	2.8%	119	2.8%	21	1.3%	30	2.7%	95	4.0%
Cerebrovascular Disease	125	2.2%	74	1.7%	7	0.4%	22	2.0%	32	1.3%
Alcohol Dependence [1]	118	2.0%	98	2.3%	47	2.8%	29	2.6%	49	2.1%
Tuberculosis [2]	76	1.3%	64	1.5%	40	2.4%	9	0.8%	16	0.7%
Total	4201	72.3%	3579	82.9%	1341	80.9%	938	85.1%	2045	85.7%

[1] Alcohol Dependence ranks eleventh among the overall specific causes of death, but ranks ninth among the specific causes of death for Black males and tenth among Latino and White males.

[2] Tuberculosis ranks fourteenth among the overall specific causes of death, but ranks tenth among the specific causes of death for Black males.

Source: *NYC Department of Health*

TABLE 6

Causes of Death for Males Ages 45 - 54: 1989

Cause of Death	Grand Total		Total Males		Black Males		Latino Males		White Males	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Grand Total	5695	100.0%	3832	100.0%	1396	100.0%	810	100.0%	2153	100.0%
Malignant Neoplasms	1427	25.1%	694	18.1%	227	16.3%	110	13.6%	389	18.1%
Heart Diseases	1253	22.0%	876	22.9%	308	22.1%	158	19.5%	522	24.2%
AIDS	695	12.2%	641	16.7%	176	12.6%	160	19.8%	418	19.4%
Chronic Liver Disease & Chirrhosis	262	4.6%	199	5.2%	48	3.4%	58	7.2%	133	6.2%
Cerebrocasvular Disease	205	3.6%	107	2.8%	51	3.7%	21	2.6%	45	2.1%
Accidents	200	3.5%	159	4.1%	69	4.9%	37	4.6%	89	4.1%
Pneumonia & Influenza	155	2.7%	112	2.9%	54	3.9%	22	2.7%	52	2.4%
Homicide	133	2.3%	112	2.9%	36	2.6%	42	5.2%	69	3.2%
Alcohol Dependence	121	2.1%	97	2.5%	50	3.6%	21	2.6%	45	2.1%
Suicide	90	1.6%	69	1.8%	13	0.9%	13	1.6%	50	2.3%
Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease [1]	165	2.9%	119	3.1%	19	1.4%	16	2.0%	24	1.1%
Drug Dependence [2]	118	2.1%	98	2.6%	34	2.4%	14	1.7%	19	0.9%
Total	4824	84.7%	3283	85.7%	1085	77.7%	672	83.0%	1855	86.2%

[1] Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease ranks eleventh among the overall specific causes of death, but ranks tenth among the specific causes of death for Latino and White males.

[2] Drug Dependence ranks fourteenth among the overall specific causes of death, but ranks tenth among the specific causes of death among Black males.

Source: *NYC Department of Health*

TABLE 7

Causes of Death by Age Group 55 - 64: 1989

Cause of Death	Black Males		Cause of Death	Latino Males		Cause of Death	White Males	
	Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
Heart Disease	533	32.5%	Heart Disease	255	34.7%	Heart Disease	1337	38.7%
Malignant Neoplasms	410	25.0%	Malignant Neoplasms	154	21.0%	Malignant Neoplasms	1030	29.8%
Cerebrovascular Disease	72	4.4%	Chronic Liver Disease & Chirrhosis	46	6.3%	AIDS	140	4.1%
Pneumonia & Influenza	58	3.5%	AIDS	37	5.0%	Chronic Liver Disease & Chirrhosis	116	3.4%
AIDS	57	3.5%	Accidents	32	4.4%	Accidents	91	2.6%
Accidents	49	3.0%	Cerebrovascular Disease	24	3.3%	Cerebrovascular Disease	85	2.5%
Chronic Liver Disease & Chirrhosis	48	2.9%	Pneumonia & Influenza	21	2.9%	Pneumonia & Influenza	67	1.9%
Alcohol Dependence	28	1.7%	Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease	14	1.9%	Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease	64	1.9%
Nephritis & Nephrosis	27	1.6%	Septicemia	14	1.9%	Suicide	48	1.4%
Septicemia	27	1.6%	Suicide	14	1.9%	Diabetes Melitus	40	1.2%
Drug Dependence	22	1.3%	Nephritis & Nephrosis	14	1.9%	Nephritis & Nephrosis	37	1.1%
Homicide	23	1.4%	Diseases of Nervous System	10	1.4%	Diseases of Nervous System	36	1.0%
Diseases of Nervous System	19	1.2%	Alcohol Dependence	10	1.4%	Septicemia	35	1.0%
Total New York City	1638	100.0%	Total New York City	735	100.0%	Total New York City	3455	100.0%

Source: *NYC Department of Health*

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TABLE 8

Causes of Death for Males Ages 65 - 74: 1989

Cause of Death	Grand Total		Total Males		Black Males		Latino Males		White Males	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Grand Total	14497	100.0%	7816	100.0%	1802	100.0%	652	100.0%	5478	100.0%
Heart Diseases	5830	40.2%	2002	25.6%	528	29.3%	270	41.4%	2425	44.3%
Malignant Neoplasms	4396	30.3%	1562	20.0%	530	29.4%	147	22.5%	1601	29.2%
Cerebrovascular Disease	617	4.3%	179	2.3%	82	4.6%	28	4.3%	184	3.4%
Pneumonia & Influenza	460	3.2%	261	3.3%	73	4.1%	23	3.5%	163	3.0%
Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease	425	2.9%	223	2.9%	44	2.4%	19	2.9%	161	2.9%
Diabetes Mellitus	283	2.0%	130	1.7%	60	3.3%	13	2.0%	64	1.2%
Accidents	226	1.6%	133	1.7%	30	1.7%	12	1.8%	94	1.7%
Nephritis & Nephrosis	200	1.4%	104	1.3%	40	2.2%	8	1.2%	50	0.9%
Septicemia	179	1.2%	2	0.0%	30	1.7%	9	1.4%	57	1.0%
Chronic Liver Disease & Chirrhosis	177	1.2%	109	1.4%	26	1.4%	22	3.4%	81	1.5%
AIDS [1]	45	0.3%	36	0.5%	11	0.6%	10	1.5%	22	0.4%
Diseases of Nervous System [2]	145	1.0%	78	1.0%	15	0.8%	4	0.6%	59	1.1%
Alcohol Dependence [3]	60	0.4%	47	0.6%	18	1.0%	9	1.4%	0.327	0.5%
Total	13043	90.0%	4866	62.3%	1487	82.5%	574	88.0%	4988	91.1%

[1] AIDS ranks nineteenth among the overall specific causes of death, but ranks ninth among the specific causes of death for Latino males.

[2] Diseases of the Nervous System ranks eleventh among the overall specific causes of death, but ranks tenth among the specific causes of death for White males.

[3] Alcohol Dependence ranks fifteenth among the overall specific causes of death, but ranks tenth among the specific causes of death for Latino males.

Source: *NYC Department of Health*

TABLE 9

Causes of Death for Males Ages 75 - 84: 1989

Cause of Death	Grand Total		Total Males		Black Males		Latino Males		White Males	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Grand Total	18337	100.0%	8364	100.0%	1176	100.0%	484	100.0%	6730	100.0%
Heart Diseases	8970	48.9%	3969	47.5%	445	37.8%	201	41.5%	3349	49.8%
Malignant Neoplasms	3852	21.0%	1898	22.7%	305	25.9%	106	21.9%	1487	22.1%
Pneumonia & Influenza	968	5.3%	455	5.4%	65	5.5%	34	7.0%	358	5.3%
Cerebrovascular Disease	835	4.6%	296	3.5%	53	4.5%	19	3.9%	220	3.3%
Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease	520	2.8%	274	3.3%	37	3.1%	14	2.9%	208	3.1%
Accidents	277	1.5%	125	1.5%	24	2.0%	6	1.2%	98	1.5%
Nephritis & Nephrosis	271	1.5%	139	1.7%	25	2.1%	4	0.8%	104	1.5%
Septicemia	257	1.4%	110	1.3%	22	1.9%	13	2.7%	76	1.1%
Diabetes Mellitus	251	1.4%	87	1.0%	18	1.5%	6	1.2%	64	1.0%
Diseases of Nervous Systems	173	0.9%	79	0.9%	6	0.5%	5	1.0%	66	1.0%
Diseases of Oesophagus, Stomach & Duodeum [1]	77	0.4%	44	0.5%	10	0.9%	2	0.4%	30	0.4%
Hypertensive Disease [2]	94	0.5%	35	0.4%	8	0.7%	6	1.2%	25	0.4%
Chronic Liver Disease & Chirrhosis [3]	81	0.4%	43	0.5%	9	0.8%	4	0.8%	33	0.5%
Suicide [4]	48	0.3%	15	0.2%	1	0.1%	3	0.6%	21	0.3%
Total	16674	90.9%	7569	90.5%	1028	87.4%	423	87.4%	6139	91.2%

[1] Diseases of Oesophagus, Stomach & Duodeum ranks fourteenth among the overall specific causes of death, but ranks tenth among the specific causes of death for Black males.

[2] Hypertensive Diseases ranks twelfth among the overall specific causes of death, but ranks seventh among the specific causes of death for Latino males.

[3] Chronic Liver Disease and Chirrhosis ranks thirteenth among the overall specific causes of death, but ninth among the specific causes of death for Latino males.

[4] Suicide ranks seventeenth among the overall specific causes of death, but ranks tenth among the specific causes of death for Latino males.

Source: *NYC Department of Health*

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